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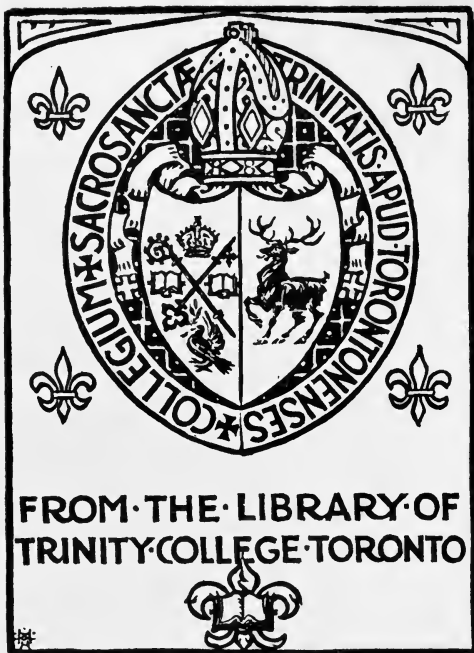
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No. *Wh 3*









Augustus Adelaide

Augustus Short

FIRST BISHOP OF ADELAIDE.

The Story of a Thirty-Four Years'
Episcopate.

BY

FRED. T. WHITINGTON, LL.B.,

*Organizing Chaplain of the Bishop's Home Mission,
Hon. Canon of St. Peter's Cathedral, Adelaide, South Australia.*

"If the organization of the Church be not a preferable accident but a Divine condition, it follows, of course, that all her missionary labours—to be entitled to that full success which waits on God's blessing—must be carried on by that organization in its perfectness. There must be no choosing by us which part of Christ's appointments we will select for use: no deeming that bishops may be needful at home, but that presbyters will suffice for foreign work. There must be a perception that for this great attempt the very best of all instruments of service are required."—*Bishop Wilberforce's Sermon in Westminster Abbey, in 1852, in commemoration of the third Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.*

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"He took up also the mantle of Elijah that fell from him."—2 KINGS ii. 13.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

George Wyndham Kennion, D.D.,

SECOND BISHOP OF ADELAIDE :

THIS BOOK IS (BY PERMISSION) WITH

ALL DUTIFUL RESPECT,

AND MUCH AFFECTION,

Inscribed.

P R E F A C E .



THE issue of this book marks the fulfilment of an often delayed purpose, and of a promise made long ago. When Bishop Short first announced his intention to resign the see of Adelaide, there appeared in the *South Australian Advertiser* some articles reviewing the bishop's episcopate. Just before he finally left for England I saw him, confessed to the authorship of the articles, and suggested that they might be expanded into something more permanent if he would help me by supplying records and information in his possession. I shall always remember the blunt modesty of his reply—"Oh, but I'm not big enough a bishop for a biography!" So I ventured to put it that the history of how the various institutions of the Church in South Australia had been built up ought to be worthy of preservation in some connected form. "Oh," he answered with a merry twinkle, "if you want to be the *historiographer* of the diocese I'll help you all I can." And so, from what at first was only a half seriously entertained proposal, it came about that books and papers, letters and memoranda, were handed over to me, and on

some of his leisure days after the return to England the bishop made notes which were forwarded for use in compiling this book. I was then incumbent of a quiet little parish suburban to Adelaide, and anticipated much pleasure in carrying out my self-imposed task. But the change to the activities—and unavoidable irregularity—of missionary duty entirely prevented my ‘historiographer’ ambitions being indulged except in the odds and ends of time, and so it has fallen out that these memoirs have been in hand for years, and even now have only been completed in the midst of the pressure of mission work.

The only apology which can be offered for the authorship of this book is that the writer hopes a born South Australian, educated in the colony, and ordained by the first bishop of Adelaide, may not be thought altogether unsuitable to tell the tale of the good old bishop’s life.

I have tried strictly to observe the *lex non scripta* of biographical writing by letting the bishop as far as possible tell his own tale—many reasons would restrain me from attempting much by way of comment—but I have ventured to set chronological sequence aside, and to group together, irrespective of the time of occurrence, all that had to do with the several subjects brought under notice. This commended itself as the more interesting and useful mode of treatment.

My acknowledgments are due to the Rev. C. C.

Elcum—formerly domestic chaplain to Bishop Short, and now vicar of St. Agnes, Toxteth Park, Liverpool—for cheerfully contributing almost the whole of the two closing chapters; to the bishop's aged brother-in-law—now in his ninety-fourth year—the Rev. W. Norris, of Warblington rectory, Havant, for the assistance received from his early 'Annals of the Diocese of Adelaide' (S.P.C.K. 1852); and to Mr. H. J. Scott, the compiler of the Jubilee Handbook of South Australia, from which I have taken a great deal of the information about the colony which has been given for the benefit of extra-colonial readers. For the ready help which has been rendered by a daughter of the bishop it would be unseemly to offer any thanks of mine.

F. T. W.

London,

Ascensiontide, 1888.

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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 30, line 1, *dele* "have" at beginning of the line.

„ 43, line last but one, *for* "July" *read* "January."

„ 71, line last but one, *for* "G. Moon" *read* "G. Moore."

„ 75, last line, *after* "long" *insert* "(i.e., between the bishop's two visits)."

„ 119, line 13 from top, *after* "narrative" *insert* "written thirteen years after his first arrival in Adelaide."

„ 169, line 4 from top, *dele* inverted commas.

„ 182, line 6 from top, *after* "date" *insert* "his lordship in the presence of."

„ 242, line 16 from bottom, *for* "sacramentarian" *read* "sacramentalist."

„ 253, line 4 from bottom, *for* "1881" *read* "1879."

those directly interested in it. Yet even now it is suggestive to recall that the island of Australia has an area of some three millions of square miles, or—to speak by

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INTRODUCTION.



IT was suggested by an English correspondent, whose opinion is entitled to every consideration, that if the history of Bishop Short's life is to be read with intelligent interest by any outside the colony in which that life's work was done, some account should be supplied of the colony itself, so that such readers may be able the better to realize the bishop's surroundings as he struggled on in the building up of his diocese. To meet this most reasonable request some colonial information has been compiled.

The huge island continent of Australia, with its record of two centuries of discovery but only one of colonization, is no longer the 'great unknown land' which up to recent times it has been to the inhabitants of the old world. The growth of Australasian commerce, and the great advance made in the direction of means of intercommunication, have done much to practically bridge over the eleven thousand miles which separate the Australian colonies from the centre of the British Empire, and to spread a knowledge of colonial affairs which heretofore has practically been confined to those directly interested in it. Yet even now it is suggestive to recall that the island of Australia has an area of some three millions of square miles, or—to speak by

comparison—is about twenty-six times as large as Great Britain and Ireland, and within one-fifth of the size of the whole of Europe. Some geologists say that our great island belongs to the oldest class of rocks and was formerly a rim of mountains with an inland sea from which has risen the vast low lying plain which occupies the centre of the continent. The general physical characteristics of Australia are the prevalence of wide stretching plains and the absence of rivers of any importance—always excepting the noble River Murray, with its generally navigable course of two thousand miles. From the nature of the country, and its situation between $10^{\circ} 39'$ and $39^{\circ} 11\frac{1}{2}'$ south latitude, and $113^{\circ} 5'$ and $153^{\circ} 16'$ east longitude, it may be inferred that the Australian climate is mainly dry, warm, and healthy: the hot winds which frequently distinguish the summer season are regarded as highly unpleasant, but they are by no means unhealthy, though they must be held largely accountable for the severe droughts which not seldom visit different parts of Australia, and prove so disastrous to the pastoral and agricultural interests. Our island continent is politically divided into five independently governed provinces, viz., New South Wales (the parent settlement), Victoria, Queensland, and South and Western Australia, the two latter colonies together formed the original diocese of Adelaide, and comprise more than three-fifths of the total area of the island.

The principal Australian staples are pastoral, agricultural, and mineral. To give some idea of the

commercial growth of the colonies, reference need only be made to a valuable paper read just five years ago before the Royal Colonial Institute by Sir F. Dillon Bell, Agent-General for New Zealand. Sir Dillon pointed out that the Australasian group—that is, the Australian provinces together with the islands of Tasmania and New Zealand—with its then population of some two-and-three-quarter millions, already did a trade the total volume of which was one-sixth that of England: that of the ninety-six millions of capital borrowed for colonial development, fifty-six millions had been spent on railways, twenty millions on other public works, and more than ten millions on immigration, while the revenue of the colonies had more than doubled itself since the year 1870, and only twenty-five per cent. of such revenue was absorbed by the charge of the public debt—a percentage much below that of any important country of the old world: more than one hundred million pounds worth of wool had been shipped to England in five years, and of gold Australasia had, up to the date of Sir Dillon Bell's figures, produced two hundred and sixty millions value, or nearly one-half of the gold coinage of the world, and twenty-one per cent. of all the precious metal known to be extant. These statistics are not only of interest to the statesman: the Church also has to consider the responsibilities which grow upon her in regard to communities which are progressing with such giant strides.

South Australia proper—to which the diocese of Adelaide has been restricted since the creation in 1856

of the see of Perth, Western Australia—includes an area of more than nine hundred thousand square miles, and occupies the whole of the centre of the continent, extending from the Gulf St. Vincent in the south to the Gulf of Carpentaria on the north. The northern part of the province is still in the infancy of colonization, and its tropical character makes it almost a distinct settlement from the southern half of the colony. The entire South Australian population numbers some three hundred and ten thousand souls ; three millions of acres of the soil are under cultivation—leaving four hundred millions of acres of what has been described as ‘from good to fair land’ yet to be developed ; six-and-a-half millions of sheep and four hundred thousand head of cattle represent the pastoral industry ; the public debt stands at £61 per head of the population, and it is said the colony has £50 per head of ‘realisable’ assets, while the taxes are below those of the neighbouring provinces. The prize wheat against the world has been grown in this colony, which has in its fifty years of existence exported thirty-five millions pounds worth of breadstuffs, together with forty millions sterling value of wool, and twenty millions worth of minerals. More than fourteen hundred miles of railway—including part of an intercolonial line, which unites the chief capital cities of Australia—and many thousands of miles of macadamized roads have been built ; while to South Australia belongs the honour of having stretched the electric telegraph across the whole continent—a distance of two thousand miles—

and so brought these southern colonies into daily communication with the civilized world.

The clear dry atmosphere of the colony has been found highly suitable for the rearing of sheep and cattle, and 'runs,' as they are called, of great size—some including hundreds of square miles—were leased in the early days—and still are in northern and central Australia—at almost nominal rents from the Government, stocked with sheep or great cattle as the case might be (sometimes with both, where the character of the country under occupation justified it), and so the foundation was laid of many of the largest fortunes which have been made by any of the colonists. About a dozen years ago a strong movement set in against the monopoly by a few holders of such wide tracts of much of the best land in the province. As a consequence, the Government were led to resume possession of a large portion of the leased pastoral territory and have it surveyed into agricultural areas. This policy has resulted in very considerably changing the aspect of the face of the country and spreading a farming population over many hundreds of miles of land which had been thought in former times only adapted for pasturage. In several districts the encouragement of agriculture has proved successful, and the colony has been able to produce wheat of a sample which, as mentioned before, has taken the premier position in the great exhibitions of the world. It has been the fashion in some quarters to urge that the pastoralists have had in the times gone by an undue share of the natural advantages of the country,

but sufficient allowance is perhaps not always made for the fact that in the first days of settlement they were practically explorers, and had many hardships to undergo and many difficulties to overcome: the reward of their enterprise and courage should not therefore be grudged to them.

The undoubtedly rich mineral resources of South Australia appear likely to again prove a valuable element in colonial advancement, if the European metal markets maintain their revived activity. Besides the yet unexhausted copper mines of Yorke's Peninsula, which have yielded very rich results in the past, it is known that extensive deposits of the same metal are to be found in many parts of our northern country. The gold mining industry, too, seems to be developing into permanence; and the recent discoveries of tin and silver on the north-eastern boundary of the province have already very highly raised the importance of our mineral interests. The famous Broken Hill silver mine, although actually within the New South Wales border, sends her produce and trade down the South Australian railways; and of her present estimated value of six millions sterling, one-sixth part is in the hands of the South Australian shareholders. In the Northern Territory, also, the existence of considerable mineral wealth in gold and tin has been proved.

The capital city of Adelaide—which with its suburbs contains about sixty thousand inhabitants—has by its healthful character, its broad streets and handsome buildings, and its far-famed hospitality,

earned the reputation of ranking with some of the pleasantest of the county towns of England. The Adelaide International Exhibition now being held in celebration of the colony's jubilee has attracted a very large number of visitors to the city and, amongst others less distinguished, the Duke of Manchester, Earl Carnarvon, and Lord Brassey have publicly expressed in the highest terms their admiration of our town.

Enough has been said to show how remarkably the colony of South Australia has materially developed in half a century: it is hoped that an outline of the episcopate of the first bishop of Adelaide will make it clear that the Church has not been altogether neglectful of her duty in furthering the growth of the religious life of this young community.



AUGUSTUS SHORT :

FIRST BISHOP OF ADELAIDE.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DAYS AND UNIVERSITY LIFE.

THE first bishop of Adelaide came of one of the old English county families. The Shorts of Bickham, Devon, are collaterally connected with the Shorts of Edlington Grove, Lincoln, to one of whom, Prebendary Short of Canterbury, the family crest was granted in 1579. The son of John Short of Bickham, in the parish of Kenn, about five miles from Exeter, was Archdeacon William Short, father of Thomas Vowler Short, the well-known bishop, first of Sodor and Man, and then of St. Asaph, who was cousin to the bishop of Adelaide. The father of the Australian bishop was a London barrister, and his brother, Colonel Short, served as an ensign in the Coldstream Guards at Quatre-Bras and at Waterloo. His sister married a brother of the celebrated novelist, Captain Marryat, and the present dean of Adelaide is her son. Dean Marryat's sister married Sir Henry E. F. Young, once Governor of South Australia, and whose son is now a member of the legal profession in the colony. Directly and indirectly, therefore, the bishop became closely

identified with the province in which for so long a time he held a foremost place.

From notes made during his final retirement in England it is possible to present the early history of Bishop Short's life almost in his own words, and so ensure that freshness which belongs only to an autobiography:—"Born on St. Barnabas' Day (June 11), 1802, I was placed at Westminster school with my brother Mayow in January 1809, when only six-and-a-half years old. Previously I had been sent with my elder brothers, Charles and Mayow, to Crediton school under the Rev. Mr. Lightfoot, a good master and worthy man. Here, in a tanyard close to the schoolhouse, I recollect falling into a tanpit and was in some danger of being drowned. In a letter to my father on my leaving the school, Mr. Lightfoot speaks of my 'playfulness of spirit rendering it difficult to fix my attention,' a characteristic which, perhaps, accounts for my accident, and of which I have had much after experience. That I was blessed with a retentive memory appears from my having in my sixth year repeated to my great-uncle, the Rev. W. Sandys, rector of St. Minver, 'John Gilpin' so correctly that he sent me through my mother a new, bright golden guinea, with a letter expressing his hope that my future life would be 'as bright and pure.' My early days at Westminster were, undoubtedly, the most *wretched* in my life. At my boardinghouse in little Dean's Yard I was 'a fag,' an institution which, at least in its severer features, has happily long since passed away. All I owe to its experience is, that in the whole of my after life no physical discomfort or inconvenience equalled what I suffered then. I well understand the appeal of Æneas to his comrades: '*O passi graviora.*' My wretchedness,

however, was alleviated, I delight to remember, by the kindness of Archbishop Longley, whose 'breakfast fag' I then was. The senior king's scholars at that time came to breakfast at the boardinghouses, and I used to set out Longley's breakfast things. That is now more than seventy years ago, and still I feel grateful for his uniform kindness. It will show the rough discipline to which in those days the simplicity of childhood was exposed when I recount how, as a point of honor, I was urged to fight an offending chimney-sweep, and in order to prove my courage, to engage another little fellow of my own size and age—my only acquaintance and friend in the school. In both cases I came off victor; but in the latter instance, I am happy to say, the battle only cemented a friendship which endured through the rest of my school days and on to college life at Christ Church, Oxford.

After but a year at Westminster my father, finding that I was yet too young for public school life, placed me at Langley Broom, not far from Slough. My only pleasant recollection of this school is the governess, who seemed to me like a ministering angel in an establishment otherwise redolent in my memory of the 'Squeers' system. With very pleasant feelings I quitted this 'academy' and was replaced at Westminster as a home boarder in the November of 1811. In due course I passed from the lower third to the fifth form; in which it was usual to 'stand out,' *i.e.*, become a competitor for election as king's scholar, on the foundation of Queen Elizabeth. For an average number of ten vacancies some twenty or more candidates offered themselves for examination. The 'challenge,' as it was called, began from the bottom. In the morning a Greek, in the afternoon a Latin passage, selected by the head-master and prepared beforehand, was to be construed

and parsed by the lowest candidate but one, and whose place could be taken by the lowest if the former was corrected by him three times, and he himself could pass in turn the like ordeal of questioning without similar failure. A clever scholarly boy often thus made his way to the topmost place and went as 'head' into college; his name was then emblazoned in gold on the tablets in the college dormitory. After an eight weeks' competition I got in fourth. Then began a new form of 'fagging,' the relation, however, being by a euphemism assimilated to that of patron and client under the old Roman law. It not seldom arose from the assistance afforded by a king's scholar to a candidate for election into college, and might be likened to the relationship between a *libertinus* and the *dominus* who had manumitted him. It often was the basis of lasting goodfellowship. At the Pan-Anglican Conference of 1878 my friend the Primus of Scotland reminded me that he had been my 'junior' in St. Peter's College, Westminster, whereupon I immediately 'fagged' him to get me some luncheon, with which order he very good-humouredly complied.

During the succeeding four years I went through the usual course of lessons, and by means of 'private studies,' as they were called, enlarged my reading and taste for the classics. Under the personal direction of the head-master, I thus read the *Odyssey*, *Hesiod*, *Anabasis*, and *Cyropædia*. Upon the appointment of Dr. Edward Goodenough to the head-mastership the sixth form lesson became most instructive in culture and taste, and so profitably occupied all my spare time. Under him I won two prizes for Latin verse; but in other respects went, after election to Christ Church, Oxford, ill-grounded in scholarship as well as deficient in

general education and knowledge. Public schools needed at that time great reform and improvement. I left Westminster on May 9, 1820, as a student of Christ Church, but cannot say that in Scriptural knowledge, or religious instruction, or moral discipline the purpose of Queen Elizabeth's foundation had been well or adequately carried out as regards myself or the other king's scholars during my sojourn in St. Peter's College and dormitory." With this judgment agrees that of Bishop Short of St. Asaph, who, like his cousin, began scholastic experiences at Westminster, and thus narrates the impressions left upon him:—"There was a great deal that was good at the school when I was there, but a great deal, too, that was evil. Forty boys were shut up for the night in a large room (the college dormitory) by themselves, and the master never came in except for prayers, after notice given. There was much tyranny, much self-indulgence in eating and drinking and in jesting which were 'not convenient.' Few boys went through the trial unharmed, but our characters were strongly formed, and we acquired a great knowledge of human nature." Yet the bishop of Adelaide always regarded Westminster with genuine affection. More than sixty years after he passed out of it he went in his ripe old age once again to the school with one of his Westminster contemporaries, Canon Bull, of Lathbury, Newport Pagnell, and was present at the election dinner in the Jerusalem Chamber; the dean of Westminster presided, and among the one hundred and twenty at table were Sir Watkins-Williams-Wynn, Sir Robert Phillimore, Sir John Mowbray, and Colonel Dyott, all old friends of the bishop. The evidently gratifying note of the day's proceedings in his diary is 'Epigrams well spoken: one in my honor.' It is surely worthy a place in these pages:—

"Trajecto Oceano, natali redditus oræ
 Hos tandem repetis, Vir Reverende, Lares.
 Ergo sponte tibi nosmet gratamur alumni;
 Vox sonat unanimes, 'Vive valeque Pater.'
 Defunctum officio gens Australensis euntem
 Nuper erat votis fida secuta suis.
 Præteritos placide fas nunc numerare labores;
 Jure tibi restat parta labore quies.
 Non te sollicitat vitæ conatus inanis;
 Infectâ non re consilioque redis.
 Sellæ firma sacræ tu fundamenta locâsti;
 Per te ædes surgit pulchra, dicata Deo:
 Auspiciis iunixa tuis domus æmula nostræ,
 Artibus ingenuis apta ministra viget.
 Sancta ista, ut fas est, aliis tradenda potestas
 Evchet insigni nomen honore tuum:
 Præsidibus terrarum, istâ regione futuris,
 Cura data est, ibas quâ prius ipse, sequi.
 Tanti fructus operis (voluere ita fata), benignos
 Altera terra tulit, non aliena tamen;
 Nec locus invidæ; partem accipiemus honoris;
 Noster eras; noster semper habendus eris."

Whenever in later years rated upon his combative spirit, the bishop used to say:—"Fighting, of course I am fond of fighting. Why, when I was a boy at Westminster the boys fought one another, they fought the masters, the masters fought them, they fought outsiders, in fact we were ready to fight everybody in those days, for the whole nation thought and spoke of nothing but fighting." In the evening of life he went once more amongst the scenes of its early morning, and the cheers of those who were beginning its battle welcomed with their '*Vive, valeque pater*,' the old soldier of the Cross, who truly might have said, 'I have fought a good fight.' It certainly was to the harsh discipline of Westminster that the bishop owed much of that power of enduring 'hardness' which stood him in

such good stead in his early Adelaide life, before good roads, comfortable coaches, railways, steamers, and well-appointed hotels had minimised the difficulties and real hardships of travel; and often when one or other of his clergy complained of the rough and often menial work which falls to the lot of the colonial missionary, he has been known to reply, "You ought to have been a fag at Westminster." When two years after the bishop's visit to the school the election gathering again took place, but the veteran servant of God had meanwhile passed to his rest, his old friend, Canon Bull, put an epigram into the mouth of the orator containing, amongst others, this happy allusion:—

*"Vita erat illustri felix placidâque senectâ
Finem illis aptum mors nec-opina tulit.
Perfecit cursum, fruiturque quiete paratâ
Nunc inter Sanctos ac propiore Deo.
Omne nostra bono Schola serum, oramus, in ævum
Usque ferat tales instituatque viros!"*

To return to the autobiography—"I was placed on reaching Oxford under my cousin, the Rev. Thomas Vowler Short, tutor and junior censor of Christ Church, and soon learned to value and respect his sterling religious truthfulness and sincerity, though occasionally associated with a bluntness which took somewhat from his personal influence among the undergraduates. My taste for reading naturally threw me among those of his pupils who aspired to classical or mathematical honours. The latter studies, however, from want of previous instruction in arithmetic and algebra, I found myself unable profitably to pursue, requiring as they did more time than I was inclined to spare from the classics. With my classical reading I associated, by way

And in his own case the "Short"
temper habitually made what
for him

of amusement, boating, and became one of the Christ Church racing crew—rowing being an exercise familiar to Westminster boys from their daily practice on the Thames. This demanded a stricter habit of life than was at that time fostered by the convivial parties in college. And so both in study and amusement I was saved from many temptations and follies. The most profitable period, however, of my undergraduate life was the long vacation before the final Michaelmas examination in 1823. By permission of the dean I was allowed, with three other undergraduates, to ‘stay up’ in college, under the supervision of my cousin, who was then writing a portion of his *History of the Church of England*. To scenes of battle or encampment, such as Chalgrove Field, where Hampden received his death-wound, I went with him in his frequent rides around Oxford; and thus became interested in the details of that memorable struggle between the King and Parliament. During my college days I had the advantage of the influence of such men among my cousin’s pupils as Pusey and Lord Ashley (Shaftesbury), but up to the time when I came to Christ Church the discipline of the college had been lax. The efforts of the new censors, Bull and Short, to restore good order were of course met with much opposition from the young men of position and fortune, who resented the restrictions imposed on their hunting or other amusements, such as going to Ascot or other races, and they gave practical proof of their displeasure. I recollect bonfires being started in Peckwater ‘quad’ on more than one occasion; again, all the doors of the dean’s and the canons houses were one morning found painted red. On a third occasion the dean’s cabbages were transplanted, I heard, to the gravel of the ‘quad.’ These were the freaks of young aristocrats of ample means, exuberant spirits, and privileged

idleness. Such a collegiate system could not but pass away, and university reform has, to a great extent, made it a thing of the past.

At the close of the long vacation I have described I went up for examination in the classical schools, and to my great satisfaction obtained first-class honours. My father had intended me for the Chancery Bar, but now wished me to follow a scholastic career, which seemed opening before me. I accordingly in the two following years accepted engagements as travelling tutor. With one pupil I went to Nanci and the Vosges in France. In the next summer, with two other pupils, I visited the lakes in Cumberland, as well as York and some other cathedral towns. Afterwards I became domesticated in the family as the private tutor of these pupils, and I consider it a providential event in my early life to have lived with this excellent and religious household. So passed the period between my taking my degree and my admission to Holy Orders at Christ Church as deacon in 1826 and priest in the following year, Dr. Bagot being then bishop of Oxford. My first theological examination was certainly somewhat perfunctory; but I must express my deep obligation subsequently to Dr. Charles Lloyd, Regius Professor of Divinity, who delivered a series of lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, and then one on the Roman Breviary as the source of the Book of Common Prayer. The Catholic principle of Vincentius of Lerins, '*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,*' was thus brought to my knowledge and conviction. At the long vacation in 1827 the curacy of Culham, near Abingdon, was offered me, and I accepted the duty, which was to assist the vicar, he being in weak health. The population was small, and while I was thus initiated into the practical duties of a parish priest the weekly

visits and Sunday services afforded a pleasant variety from the routine of college life. In the hospitable vicarage, and in the family mansion of the squire I found very much to instruct and refine, counteracting at least the tendency of college tutorial duty to develop pedantry and dictatorial dogmatism. Thus passed part of two years very happily, and I only resigned the curacy on being appointed by the dean as tutor and lecturer of my college. I now more fully realised than ever before the great advantage offered by the royal foundation of St. Peter's College, Westminster, to the sons of professional men who have to make their own way in the world. By successful personal competition when 'standing out' for college, I had gained the first rung of the ladder of life, and following up the career then opened to me I found myself in an honourable and profitable position as a Christ Church tutor within four years after I had taken my degree.

The like advantages of education and advancement in civil and ecclesiastical life have now been more widely opened to the middle and labouring classes by advanced State schools or endowed colleges, together with admission to the universities and to their offices and emoluments without any religious tests. The better educated portion of the nation will thus become more loyally devoted to their country and its constitution, which admits all its citizens to the highest civil and political advancement. In my own case no interest was required, and no application made for a Christ Church studentship. Indeed, my father not having been at the university, had neither connection with nor knowledge of the classical authorities, who might perhaps have been able to assist me. Whatever advancement, therefore, in life I have obtained I owe, under God, to Queen Elizabeth and my own efforts.

Among other incidental daily advantages of my tutorship was that of living in the same college with young men of mark, and noble or landed gentry, as well as the more promising pupils of the great public schools. At that time many were sent to Christ Church college. With the names of Pusey and Lord Shaftesbury, already mentioned, I recall, among those who were afterwards distinguished, Sir G. Cornwall Lewis, W. E. Gladstone, Granville, Dalhousie, Elgin, Canning, Archbishop Longley, and Archdeacons B. Harrison and G. A. Denison. At the end of March 1833, I was appointed public examiner in the classical schools, and, with my colleagues, had the pleasure of placing in the first class one afterwards known to fame as Archbishop Tait. My work, however, in college and university, diversified though it was by parochial duty in the neighbourhood of Oxford and at Culham, did not remove my distaste for tutorial life, and it was during this year that I made my matrimonial engagement, which, within a given period, would necessarily terminate residence at Oxford. Nevertheless, in January 1834, I was promoted by Dean Gaisford to be junior censor, and changed my rooms to Canterbury 'quad.' At that date I observe from my diary that I was on friendly terms with G. Moberly, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, G. Denison, and Jacobson, late bishop of Chester, friendships continued unaltered by my long separation in Australia. Johnson, afterwards dean of Wells, and Jeune, late bishop of Peterboro', with Moberly, were my fellow-examiners.

At length the vicarage of Ravensthorpe, in Northamptonshire, being about to be resigned by the incumbent, I went on a tour of inspection; and, though a poor preferment, I resolved to accept it, and so fulfil my domestic intentions. On the 10th of June, 1835, the day before my thirty-third

birthday, I was presented by the dean and chapter of Christ Church to this vicarage, and on the following 10th of December was married to Miss Millicent Phillips, from Hints Hall, Staffordshire, at the parish church.

Dean Gaisford would have had me retain my tutorship at Christ Church if I had been willing to reside at Oxford, but such a position was distasteful both to myself and wife. We preferred the country and parish work to Oxford and university life, and so migrated to Northampton."



CHAPTER II.

THE YEARS AT RAVENSTHORPE VICARAGE.

THE story of the bishop's life as an English country vicar can also be mainly supplied from his own pen. Starting with the date of his acceptance of the Northamptonshire living, he writes:—"At this time the vicarage was in a poor and dilapidated state. It was absolutely necessary to rebuild the office and to add new rooms. A grant of one hundred pounds from the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, and a loan from the Queen Anne's Bounty office enabled me to expend six hundred pounds on the premises. Having made a contract in Oxford for the additions, I then obtained leave of absence from the bishop and continued the curate in charge, whom I found acting on my appointment. A visit with my wife to my father's house, Woodlands, in the parish of Warblington, near Havant, Hants, pleasantly inaugurated my married life; after which a tour to Italy proved both instructive and agreeable. In the March of 1836 we crossed from Dover to Calais, and thence by Paris, Lyons, Avignon, and Marseilles to Genoa; thence by Vetturino to Pisa and Leghorn, where we took steamer to Civita Vecchia, and so to Rome. There, through the kindness of Sir T. Ackland, whose son had been my pupil at Christ Church, we obtained admittance on Holy Thursday to the ceremony of the Pope 'serving dinner' to a small number of monks who came as pilgrims to Rome. Afterwards we went to the *Miserere* service in the Sistine

Chapel. Admitted to the ambassador's tribune, I was not impressed either with the solemnity of the service or the reverence of the visitors. Some of the music was undoubtedly very fine. On Good Friday evening Sir T. Ackland guided us to the Coliseum at a time when the full moon lighted up the arches and ruin with wonderful effect. With Easter Sunday came the pageant of the entrance of the Pope in procession to St. Peter's. Afterwards we went to the English service outside the *Porta del Popolo*, where I preached. Naples, Paestum, Amalfi, Capri, Pompeii, and Mount Vesuvius were next visited. Then by Rome and Arezzo we went to Florence, Bologna, and the Italian lakes. Over the Simplon we came to Geneva and Chamouni, then by the Gemini we reached Berne and the Bernese Alps. Here on the Furka my wife narrowly escaped rolling down the mountain, through the slipping of the post-horse off the track on which she was riding—snow had fallen and began to thaw. We continued our tour by Lucerne and Bale, through Strasbourg and Baden to Heidelberg and the Rhine, and on by Liege to Brussels and Antwerp. Landing at Dover from Ostend, and arriving in London in August, I proceeded at once to Daventry and Ravensthorpe, but finding the vicarage not yet ready for occupation, I again left my parish until Christmas Eve, when I drove my wife over from the parsonage at Daventry, through deep snow, in order to supply the service on the following day.

Let me here note a coincidence with which I did not become acquainted until about thirty years afterwards, namely, that on the very day on which I supposed myself to have taken up my residence for life in Northamptonshire, H.M.S. *Buffalo* cast anchor in Boston Bay, Port Lincoln, in South Australia, to found the colony. Another no less interesting concurrence was, that eleven years later I

landed at Port Adelaide on the anniversary of the day on which the colony was proclaimed. Captain Hindmarsh, R.N., the Governor, having found the country about Port Lincoln unsuitable for the site of the new capital city of Adelaide left Boston Bay, and weighing anchor proceeded to Holdfast Bay in St. Vincent's Gulf. After the Governor's landing where now the town of Glenelg stands, the colony was duly proclaimed.* A beautiful plain, covered with forest gum trees and flowering wattle shrubs stretched to the foot of the Mount Lofty Range, some ten miles eastward and far away northward for more than thirty miles, and invited at once rapid settlement. But I must not anticipate.

The village of Ravensthorpe is situated on a moderate range of hills, separated from Haddon on the west and Guilborough on the east by deep valleys of fertile soil. The hamlets of Teeton and Coton stood in the latter, containing about one-third of the seven hundred residents who made up the population of my parish. Of the labouring class the majority were Baptists. There was no parochial school, and so much sectarian feeling prevailed that even in the street the children cast it in each other's teeth, 'You goes to church' or to 'chapel,' as the case might be. The only remnant of church prestige remaining I found in an aged woman, who had once been mistress of a school under the vicar. Commenting on the large defection from the Church, she boasted to me one day, 'I allus takes the wall on 'em,' meaning that as she tottered along the vicarage garden towards the church, she insisted on her right to the place of honour. These incidents suggested to me at once the determination to build a schoolroom and try whether

* Under a spreading gum tree, which now in its old age is carefully fenced, and bears a plate inscribed with an historic record.—F. T. W.

fellowship in education would not lessen religious rancour in after-life. The experiment succeeded, in spite of the 'religious difficulty,' as it is called, of teaching the catechism. I went round to some of the Baptist parents and asked them if they objected to their children learning the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, to which I purposed to limit the religious instruction of *their* children. To this they readily assented and thus, in the case of dissenting children, I turned the direction to God-parents in our baptismal service into my 'conscience clause.' So I built my schoolroom on a vacant piece of ground close to the church, with permission of the agent of the lord of the manor. A respectable young widow thankfully accepted the mistress-ship, and soon gathered a great many of the village children.

By assiduous visiting and pastoral carefulness, I was permitted to see the old church once more tolerably frequented, but long years of previous neglect had alienated the bulk of the parishioners, who were staunch Baptists or Congregationalists. I was, however, by my intercourse with this mixture of religious profession, well trained for my future diocese in South Australia, which had been mainly peopled by these denominations, together with Presbyterians, Scotch and English. The Ravensthorpe village church, built A.D. 1315, was a fine specimen of early English architecture. The tower remained intact, and though the aisles had been rebuilt the whole fabric needed repair and restoration. The laborers at that time were ill-paid, ill-fed, ill-housed, and of course discontented. There was no sick club, and the 'Union allowance' was little favourable to the sick man's convalescence. During the miserable period in England between 1836 and 1847 twice I found it necessary to purchase bags of good rice, and retail them

at half-price to the poorer labourers, whose wives thankfully received this boon to eke out their scanty meals. No wonder Chartism flourished under such conditions of life ; and before I left Ravensthorpe I had to address a Chartist meeting held opposite the vicarage, and was able to refute some of the misstatements about tithes, &c., made by the Chartist orator.

So many parochial wants and improvements to be effected led me to accept the offer of private pupils, the income from which source enabled me to accomplish these objects. In addition to the schoolroom I was then enabled to make some restorations in the church, add a rood of ground to the churchyard, purchase the cottage and yard where the Chartist meeting had been held and add them to the glebe, exchange other land for the field in front of the vicarage house, carry on successfully the sick club, and provide on the annual village feast-day some amusements for the labourers as well as prizes for the best shearers in the village. In 1878, on visiting Ravensthorpe, I had the satisfaction of finding the sick club with one hundred and thirty members, and four hundred pounds in the Savings Bank, the schoolhouse enlarged, the church and chancel thoroughly restored, the vicarage and ground in nice order, such as might well satisfy the modest wants of a country clergyman. I went down to preach on the re-opening of the church after the restoration. About twenty-five clergy met in the schoolroom to welcome me, some of them my former neighbours. The old parishioners came afterwards into the vicarage garden, and were not a little pleased by my remembering most of them well. The visit was indeed very agreeable to me. I preached twice on the re-opening day, and twice on the following Sunday.

The usual quiet life of a country parson offers few incidents of peculiar interest. Besides my pupils, intellectual refreshment was furnished by a monthly clerical meeting of neighbouring clergy, among whom were Mr. Poole, of Welford, author of a work on St. Cyprian, and Robert Milman, afterwards bishop of Calcutta.

In April 1845, I was elected to the Bampton lectureship, and visited Oxford in 1846 to preach the course. The Tractarian Controversy was still at fever height. Newman had published his tract, No. 90, in February, 1841, nearly five years before he seceded to Rome—on October 8, 1845, at Littlemore. I purposely chose a subject important alike to all parties, viz., ‘The witness of the Holy Spirit with our spirit, as stated by St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans, xiii. 5-27.’ The lectureship was proposed to me by my old friend Dean Gaisford, and following the principle I had previously acted on in life, viz., to follow the path opened to me rather than ‘choose my way,’ I accepted it, though I found myself, from my previous tutorial employments, inadequately furnished for so important an office in the school of theology.

The proposed condemnation of Mr. Ward’s ‘Ideal of a Church’ by the university convocation, drew me about this time to Oxford once more, and I journeyed thither in company with Dr. Tait, then head-master of Rugby, and the Rev. C. Swainson, of Crick. The hushed and serious demeanour of some seventeen hundred clergy and masters of arts in the theatre, while listening to Ward’s defence of his book, much impressed me, and having recorded my vote for the first resolution condemning the book, I took no further steps in the following penal resolutions.

CHAPTER III.

THE TRACTARIANS.

EVEN had he wished to have done so, it would have been hard for an Oxford scholar and clergyman whose university days had been passed among many of the men who came to the front in the remarkable theological revival known as the Tractarian Movement to have avoided identifying himself in a more or less degree with that great epoch in the life of the English Church. During the heated contest—because party feeling then ran so high—which took place over the candidature of the Rev. J. Garbett, then rector of Clayton, and the Rev. Isaac Williams, fellow of Trinity, for the professorship of poetry at Oxford in succession to Keble, the vicar of Ravensthorpe received in due course Dr. Pusey's circular urging the claims of Isaac Williams to the position. The document is of sufficient historical interest to justify inserting it here. Moreover, it is perhaps not always sufficiently remembered that written documents put forth at the time of any public movement give a safer index to the spirit which pervaded it than can be expected from a narrative written in the light of after events, and more or less tinged by predispositions which it is only natural to look for in even the most impartial narrator :

Sir—Understanding that a circular is being sent round to all the Members of Convocation, soliciting their votes for the Rev. J. Garbett, late Fellow of Brasenose, and now Rector of Clayton, Sussex, in the approaching election for the Professorship of Poetry, I take the liberty of mentioning some circumstances, which may influence your decision, and with which you are possibly unacquainted.

The Rev. Isaac Williams, M.A., Fellow of Trinity, was, before our recent unhappy divisions, generally thought by resident members of the University, to be marked out by his poetic talents to fill that Chair, whenever it should become vacant. In 1823 he gained the prize for Latin verse; his subsequent larger works, "The cathedral" and "Thoughts in past years," speak for themselves, both bearing the rich character of our early English poetry.

To those unacquainted with his character, or who know him only through the medium of newspaper controversy, it may be necessary to state that the uniform tendency of his writings and influence has been to calm men's minds amid our unhappy divisions, and to form them in dutiful allegiance to that Church of which he is himself a reverential son and minister.

He is also a resident; whereas employments which involved non-residence were considered a sufficient reason to prevent a member of a leading college from being put forward by its head.

On the other hand, it is a known fact that Mr. Garbett would not even now have been brought forward except to prevent the election of Mr. Williams.

Under these circumstances it is earnestly hoped that the University will not, by the rejection of such a candidate as Mr. Williams, commit itself to the principle of making all its elections matters of party strife, or declaring ineligible to any of its offices (however qualified) persons whose earnest desire and aim it has for many years been to promote the sound principles of our Church according to the teaching of her liturgy.

I have the honor to be,

Christ Church,

Your humble servant,

November, 17, 1841.

E. B. PUSEY.

It is but just, having given Dr. Pusey's manifesto, to add the reply with which it was promptly met by the supporters of Mr. Garbett:

Brasenose College, November 19, 1841.

Dear Dr. Pusey—Unfeignedly do I regret that anything should have occurred to place us in opposition to each other; but I am compelled to notice some statements in your printed circular dated 17th inst., of which I did not see a copy until late last night.

I must beg leave to deny altogether that the object of this college in bringing forward Mr. Garbett was to prevent the election of Mr. Williams.

Mr. Garbett's talents are admitted by all who know him. His acquirements in every department of literature are extensive. He is intimately acquainted with the poetry of most countries and ages. He has a singular power of retaining and combining all that he has ever read, and of developing his own systematised views to the apprehension of others.

What I have already said almost implies, but I will distinctly add, that his feeling for the beauties of poetry is true, and his criticism manly, just, and comprehensive.

With this conviction of his fitness for the office, we needed no other inducement to bring him forward for the Professorship of Poetry.

How far Mr. Williams "had been generally thought by resident members of the University to be marked out by his poetic talents to fill that Chair," it is not for me to say. I can only state that I never heard Mr. Williams mentioned for that post until after our own resolution had been taken. You have received from one of the Fellows a similar assurance concerning himself; and I find that many others of our body were equally destitute of information upon this point.

With respect to the non-residence of Mr. Garbett, you will yourself admit that his case is decidedly distinguished from that of the gentleman to whom you allude. It is, however, precisely similar to that of the present Professor, whose example we have in support of our conclusion, that the duties of the office may be ably discharged notwithstanding.

After all it may unfortunately be true that what was begun in generous rivalry may be assuming, more or less, the character of religious division. But we deny that we are responsible for this, either generally or now in particular. We have not sought such an issue; we have encouraged no step towards it. We only advocate the just pretensions of a gentleman well qualified for the office which he is seeking; who has ably served his college as tutor; the University as public examiner; who has been selected to fill on the next occasion the important office of Bampton lecturer; and of whom we assert, as you of his competitor, "that it is his earnest desire and aim to promote the sound principles of our Church according to the teaching of her liturgy."

Believe me, dear Dr. Pusey,

Truly yours,

A. T. GILBERT.

Rev. Dr. Pusey,

Canon of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Hebrew.

Considering that you have printed and circulated your letter, you will not be surprised at my giving equal publicity to the above.

To the vicar of Ravensthorpe Dr. Pusey's circular was accompanied by a private note :

My dear Short—I hope you will be able to help us at ye present crisis. There is no question but that Williams is every way ye superior. He has great poetic talent, taste, deep thought, and devotion. The only question is, whether he is disqualified by his connection with us. It is to be made a condemnation of us and our teaching in ye mass. They who vote for Williams do not pledge themselves to any of ye details of our teaching ; they only say that if W. be otherwise fit he is not thereby unfitted. The very superiority of Williams would make ye condemnation ye more severe, and this in ye present critical state of ye Church would be very disastrous. It would seem like a formal rejection of ye Tracts, and of all we have been for these many years, not I trust without fruit, inculcating.

Your sincere friend,

E. B. PUSEY.

To this the vicar replied :

London, November 23, 1841.

My dear Pusey—It seems clear that Williams is a better poet than Garbett, and under ordinary circumstances would have a better claim to the Chair than the latter. But when you charge party objects and party feeling on the supporters of Garbett, is the nomination of Williams entirely free from the same objection? Is it not an object with yourself and friends to influence the public mind in the views (special as well as general) of the Tracts through the Chair of Poetry? And do you not seek to stamp with University authority the system and views you advocate? It is clear that such will be the effect and the consequence of the election of Williams. And yet I know not how to charge *you* with designedly catching at such advantages. At the same time your party never were at any pains to disconnect the University from the system of the Tracts, which circumstance led, I imagine, to the late resolution of the Hebdomadal Board. For myself I can say that I believe in *some* of the main positions of that system—a visible Church, Episcopacy, a Succession, and Sacraments as means, not merely signs, of grace to them that rightly receive them. But I cannot approve of the tone in which the Reformation and our Church is spoken of, or the views touching the sacrifice of the Mass in No. 90, or the doctrine of 'reserve,' or the prayers to the Virgin and Saints admitted in Newman's specimen of a Reformed Service from

the Breviary, or the studied (as appears to me) ambiguity of language touching Sacraments, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, &c., in all of which points the object seems to have been to obscure rather than support the views of our Reformed Church. Nor can anyone, I should imagine, approve of the sarcastic bitterness of the *British Critic*, or the puerile novelties sought to be introduced (in particular instances) in the celebration of Divine Service. Nor, again, is the attitude of suspicion and alienation taken by your party towards the united Episcopate of England and Ireland upon the question of Colonial Bishoprics at all consistent with your own principles, or as appears to me right. If by voting for Williams I am to sanction all these things, and also to commit the University to the same views, I must pause before I consent. I regret that it is so, and before I take any decided step in the matter one way or the other, should (if it be worth your while) wish to receive some public disavowal of any Tractarian objects being sought for in the nomination of Williams. As a poet and a Christian I am ready to vote for him; as a Tract writer, not. I know many who will vote on your side who do not adopt all your views, and it would be but fair to them to disavow *publicly* any intention of identifying your supporters, or the University at large, with your views. In that case I could have no difficulty in supporting your candidate, and I should think his election would be secured, and party strife would be manifestly discountenanced on *your* side at least. I have written fully and candidly my impressions, because besides private esteem and respect I can publicly thank you for much of your labours.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

November 23, 1841.

A. SHORT.

The wise and friendly counsel thus given was evidently duly appreciated and bore fruit. Two days later than the vicar's date there was published this answer to Principal Gilbert's letter to Dr. Pusey, of November 19:

To the Rev. the Principal of Brasenose College.

My dear Mr. Principal—I have been longer than I could have wished in replying to your letter. Your own statement I of course fully and at once accept, and am glad of the publicity thus given to the fact that the first intention of bringing forward Mr. Garbett had no reference to Mr. Williams, as also of your incidental expression of regret at the 'character of religious division' which this election you too think has been 'assuming.'

My statement, however, related not to the period to which you refer, but to the present term; and although a different explanation has been given to the fact, to which I in words referred, I regret to say that, after carefully weighing all which has come to my knowledge, I cannot but feel that what I meant to convey is still substantially correct—that the *chief* interest felt on the one side in this election has been founded not on the merits of the respective candidates, but on opposition to certain theological views.

As you allude to the publicity given to my letter, you will permit me to say in explanation that I was only induced to write it in consequence of your own circulars, sent, as I was informed, to all the members of my own college, and subsequently extended (I believe without precedent in any such elections) to the whole of the non-resident body. Its object was to prevent, if possible, some of our non-resident members from being involved in our divisions unawares. It was written to bring home to them the true nature of what they were being called upon to do, and its responsibility. I did not in it ask for any vote for Mr. Williams; I only asked people to weigh well what they would be doing by voting against him. I wished to remind them that, while by voting on the ground of qualification for the office, *they in no way pledge themselves to the opinions with which Mr. Williams is commonly identified*, they would, by voting against him, run great risk of appearing to involve themselves and the University in the assertion that those opinions are an actual disqualification for any of her offices of instruction.

I beg, in conclusion, to thank you very much for the kind tone of your letter towards myself, and for feeling regret that we should be placed in opposition to each other.

Believe me, my dear Mr. Principal,

Yours very faithfully,

E. B. PUSEY.

Christ Church, November 25, 1841.

Mr. Williams' college also intervened as a body, and issued the following circular, which shows how strong was the feeling which the contest had aroused:

The President and Fellows of Trinity College, after long deploring in silence the tone which has been given through the public press to the present contest for the Professorship of Poetry, and the misconceptions which have arisen with respect to it, feel at length called upon to de-

clare that Mr. Williams was brought forward, not by a particular party, but by the President and Fellows of his College, and on the sole ground of his pretensions to the office.

They have uniformly disclaimed for Mr. Williams himself, and deprecated on the part of others, any attempt whatever to introduce upon the occasion questions of theological controversy; and wishing anxiously to satisfy those members of Convocation whose minds have been disturbed and embarrassed by what is passing, they hereby sincerely assure them that in supporting Mr. Williams they are not contending for the ascendancy of particular opinions. At the same time they protest against the injustice of an oblique and unusual mode of condemning those opinions to the prejudice of an individual.

Trinity College, Oxford, December 2, 1841.

In sending a copy of his last letter to the Principal of Brasenose to Ravensthorpe, Dr. Pusey writes :

My dear Short—The last sentence of this letter was added to meet your views. It is ye substance of what I and others had again and again said privately. All I wish for is toleration, not sanction. Williams was brought forward without any reference to our views. He was thought of before they had attracted attention. People wished him to be withdrawn on account of them, and this could not be done, in ye judgment of very moderate, calm-judging persons, as involving a condemnation. So we have been forced into this contest, and now it is openly carried on as a condemnation of our whole teaching, even of ye *Christian Year* in some quarters. If you have not read both tracts on 'reserve' I should feel satisfied that you would not object to them as a whole. But ye question is not about sanctioning details, but whether we are disqualified from being religious instructors: no one on our side represents it as a sanction of details. Williams is supported as being ye best man, taking in of course the *general tone* of his religious views, and not disqualified by his connection with us. If he had held ye views on 'reserve' ordinarily attributed to him, how could it have been that his only prose work should be on 'The Passion'?

In haste, yours most faithfully,

November 26.

E. B. PUSEY.

The vicar's answer shows that although he was sufficiently assured by Dr. Pusey's letters to justify voting for the Tractarian candidate, he still felt some anxiety about the attitude of the High Church party in Oxford :

My dear Pusey—I am satisfied with the disclaimer contained in your second circular, and unless between this and the day of election some *new and unexpected crisis* should arrive, shall be able to support Williams, whom no one can doubt, from his writings, to be a devout, calm, and serious Christian. Since my return from London (whither your letter followed me) I have read Tract No. 80 with attention. If ‘reserve’ implies anything more than that the Atonement and Divinity of our Lord should be mentioned with becoming awe and seriousness, and that the doctrine of the Cross is only partially preached unless it be extended to our suffering here with Christ, I cannot help thinking that the Tract is misleading and mischievous. We have nothing to do with effects and consequences. Our business is to ‘preach the Gospel to every creature,’ including, nay based upon, the mystery of godliness—God manifest in the flesh, Who hath purchased His Church with His own blood. The ‘whole counsel’ of God, which Paul shunned not to declare, and which enabled him to be pure from the ‘blood of all men,’ must contain ‘repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ;’ and it will not do to let the younger clergy fancy that they are at liberty to *withhold* that which sets forth the exceeding sinfulness of sin and the love of God in Christ, viz., the Atonement; because it will be a savour unto life or death. The word ‘reserve,’ is, in my humble opinion, most unfortunately chosen, as calculated to convey a notion of *keeping back* the grand features of the Gospel scheme, rather than of teaching them with *awe and seriousness*, and the avoiding an offensive familiarity, which is too manifest in many modern collections of hymns. I have only one suggestion to offer—Will it be possible by a comparison of votes to avoid the strife, turmoil, and evil passions of a contested election in the Convocation House? Surely it is as well to seek the things which ‘make for peace,’ if it can be done without compromise.

I throw out this suggestion hardly hoping that it can be acted upon, and yet perhaps the attempt ought to be made.

Yours, &c.,

AUGUSTUS SHORT.

Ravensthorpe, November 29, 1841.

The issue of this election, which evidently was so earnestly canvassed, made it clear that Dr. Pusey rightly regarded it as being fought not upon the fitness of the candidates to fill the Chair of Poetry, but as a conflict between two great schools of teaching in the Church of England. Sir John

Coleridge in his *Memoir of Keble*, speaking of Isaac Williams' nomination for the professorship and Keble's strong desire that it should be conferred on him, says : "In more peaceful times it would have seemed a matter of course to elect him, at least as against his successful opponent."

But though the vicar of Ravensthorpe, with characteristic outspokenness and sincerity, felt moved to point out where he considered the Tract writers were obscuring religious truth rather than making it plainer, yet he was as ready to defend them when he thought they were being unjustly accused. And so in 1845 he sets himself to prepare an *apologia* for the Rev. J. H. (now Cardinal) Newman's Tract 90 (of the *Tracts for the Times*), which was designed to show that the Thirty-nine Articles were not to be regarded as a purely Protestant manifesto intended to establish a bran-new religion, but were to be read in the light of an appeal to Catholic antiquity against the accretions of Roman Mediævalism. Through the action of the proctors at the Oxford Convocation in exercising their power of veto, that now celebrated tractate was saved from formal condemnation, but it yet remained open to further attack by those who wished to secure a distinct judgment of the Church against it. The vicar sent the draft of his proposed brochure to his two firm friends, the Revs. C. Swainson of Crick, and H. Bull of Lathbury, for their judgment and counsel. Mr. Swainson wrote to him :—"I have detained your very interesting and thoroughly candid paper a little longer than I ought to have done that I might give it a careful reading. Some few observations on it I am putting upon paper, and I purpose some very early opportunity to come over that we may talk one or two portions of your paper over before you take any further

proceedings concerning it; particularly on those parts relative to Justification, and of works before and after it. You mention Tait's name and the thought of sending it to him. You bear in mind that he was one of the four tutors who first laid to the charge of Tract 90 those accusations from which you would with so much open straightforwardness set it free; you will not, therefore, expect that he will at once express himself very favourably, although I verily think his own views on the subjects have been considerably modified since their first publication. It is really noble, and chivalrous almost, in you to propose to stand forward as the vindicator of a most unjustly judged brother clergyman; yet I would (as one who values you and watches your prospects with the truest feeling of friendly interest) ask you very sincerely to think, and think again, before you ventured to put yourself forward as the published advocate for Tract 90. It seems a matter of great uncertainty whether the subject *will* again be brought before Convocation; if it should be, *then*, I think, some such honest statement as yours might contribute greatly to the clearing of men's minds. But even then, if done, it must be done with a gentle hand; at least if we would secure its reading by that class of persons to whom it would be really useful—that class, for instance, of which such a man as my friend Dr. M. may be considered a type—honest, pious, yet tinged with strong prejudices." This was not very encouraging, and Mr. Bull still further dissuaded the vicar from publication, for he not only joined in doubting the expediency of defending the Tract, but plainly urged that he thought a good deal of it was indefensible. "Briefly to express my opinion," he writes, "of what you have put together, it strikes me that No. 90 is a *very slippery text* to preach from; for, if not

actually consistent with Roman Catholic errors, the Tract does certainly appear to *countenance* some of them. The *defence* therefore of it will naturally slide into something of favour towards them, if it does not even lean more to them. And this is what many persons of unbiassed mind would, I fancy, attribute to your brochure. I question whether this kind of *thorough* apology for the Tract, taking each section in order, and saying all that can be said in maintenance of a *doubtful* principle, is the best form of defence of either the Tract itself or of Newman. It appears to me some things are incautiously said, some points strained, and some great errors set forth, and I think in speaking of No. 90 and defending it, we ought not to attempt to justify these. The tone of your remarks is, I think, too universally *apologetic*. I believe with Newman that the framers of the Articles had much more of the *Catholic* spirit than the Low Churchman of our day will allow. But I think he has given this Catholicism a Romish tincture in the Tract. I do not believe that the interpretation of this Tract is *generally* consistent with Roman Catholic error. But I think it too much to *defend it from the charge altogether*, as you do more or less, and I question the expediency of publishing what you have written without some qualification. I say this with the entire belief that you are fitter to judge in the matter than I am. You are of more intellectual calibre than myself, and have better exercised your faculties, and I confide in your sound judgment in all matters; but I send you what occurs to me without reserve. What says Swainson?"

The argument from expediency is always a powerful one, and it is little wonder that after being thus advised by his most esteemed brethren the vicar refrained from carrying into effect his manly purpose. Probably had he

have done so the Colonial Church would not have reaped the advantage of his wisdom and learning in helping to mould her early history, for—in the then state of Anglican opinion in England—a champion of Tractarianism would scarcely have been likely within two years of so stepping into the arena of theological controversy to have been asked to go forth as the first bishop of the Church in an English colony avowedly founded upon the broadest basis of religious toleration. But the treatise which the verdict of justly honoured friends killed at its birth is, both from its subject and author, deeply interesting reading, and none will grudge space being found in these pages for some extracts from it. To many it will show that the sound Anglo-Catholic position, which not seldom was boldly taken in after years, was but the maturity of convictions formed as the result of thought and research in the vigour of early manhood. The obvious difficulties which must beset every chief pastor of a branch of the Church which comprehends so many phases of religious belief as does the Anglican Communion, may have often led the first bishop of Adelaide to take up an attitude which disappointed the very pronounced Churchman (while probably it equally failed to satisfy the demands of ultra-liberal theological sentiment), but *au fond* the Church principles of the man were never materially changed from those he held when he wanted to defend teaching designed to establish the conformity of Anglican doctrine with primitive Catholic dogma.

The vicar of Ravensthorpe's essay on Tract 90 took the form of a letter to his friend Mr. Swainson, categorically commenting upon the most strongly controverted statements made by Newman as to the true method of interpreting the Anglican Articles of

Religion. The whole of the introductory portion should be quoted :

“ You and I have lately recorded our conviction that the opinions avowed by Mr. Ward are inconsistent with *bona fide* subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and it seems to be taken for granted by a large number of persons that those opinions were mainly derived from the modes of interpretation suggested in Tract 90. On a cursory inspection of the *second* edition of that Tract we were both led to doubt the truth of that supposition, and to question the assertion of the decree, vetoed by the proctors, that those interpretations ‘ were consistent with Roman Catholic errors.’ Nevertheless, our minds were not so fully made up as to render unnecessary all further examination of the subject. While, then, the interposition of the proctors has given us breathing time, and the threatened condemnation of the Tract is yet in the ‘womb of time,’ let us endeavour to review its statements with the calmness of those who may be called on to pass judgment on them, and with a conscientious desire to ascertain whether the views there developed are really consistent with holding Roman Catholic errors. Any attempt to *narrow* the just limits of the Anglican Communion ought surely to be resisted as militating against the method of interpretation, *i.e.*, that it be grammatical and literal, secured to us in the declaration prefixed to the Articles after the Hampton Court Conference in James I. reign. Could indeed the charge be sustained that the suggested interpretations were consistent with Roman Catholic errors, or if—notwithstanding his positive disclaimer—it could be shown that their author held the Romanising views—unnecessarily as I think—fastened upon those interpretations, I should not hesitate to express my conviction, as a member of Convocation,

that such conduct and such interpretations were not consistent with *bona fide* subscription; but believing, as I do, that the expositions of the Tract, if not perhaps obvious through our preconceived notions, are in nowise *unnatural*, but fairly within the letter and most probably in accordance with the spirit of the Articles, I think it a duty to make out this statement to the satisfaction of my own mind and if possible of those members of Convocation who, like yourself, will weigh well every act before they impute blame to a distinguished minister of our Church.

1. THE RULE OF FAITH. — The first point where the presumed latitude of interpretation manifests itself concerns the Rule of Faith, Holy Scripture, and the Authority of the Church (Arts. 6 and 20). Here we find it stated in Tract No. 90, page 6, 'that the books which are commonly called Apocrypha are not asserted in this Article to be *destitute of inspiration*, or to be *simply human*, but to be not Canonical; in other words, to differ from Canonical Scripture, specially in this respect, viz., that they are not '*adducible in proof of doctrine*.' So long as they are not to be used for that purpose I do not see how the opinion that they are not *mere human* compositions is consistent with Roman Catholic errors, which *does* prove doctrine from them, or inconsistent with the true sense of the Article, especially as the quotations from the Homilies (pp. 69, 71, and 74) show that this opinion, if erroneous, is held in common with the writers both of the first and second books. In condemning the Tract on this point we condemn also the Homilies, 1 b. x., 2 b. iii., 2 b. xi. Again, how is it objectionable to say that the Article teaches that the Church derives 'the faith' *wholly* from Scripture, and yet not *solely* from Scripture? Do not Article viii.,

the Homilies, in every page, and the Injunctions of 1571, show plainly that the Church *does* use the medium of Catholic consent to ascertain the *right interpretation* of Scripture. Have *we* not derived our *connected* view of the Articles of our systematic faith from the Apostles' Creed? If so, we cannot say that the Scripture is the *sole*, though it is the *supreme* Rule of Faith. That rule is indeed *wholly* Scriptural and yet not *solely* obtained by us from Scripture.

2. JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ONLY. (Art. xi.) — That 'faith only' excludes good works 'only' from the office of justifying, and that the forensic sense of being '*accounted* righteous' must be adopted, is evident from the care taken in Article xii., to show that they necessarily follow as the 'fruits' of a living faith, so that we cannot be saved finally without them, though not *for* them, inasmuch as they will never be perfect. Again, if by the Sacraments (Art. xxv.) 'God doth *work invisibly* in us, and not only '*quicken*' but also 'strengthen and confirm our faith in Him:' if by Baptism (Art. xxvii.) we are 'grafted, as by an instrument,' into the Church, 'the promises of forgiveness of sins and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost are visibly signed and sealed:' if as the Catechism teaches the Sacraments are 'generally necessary to salvation:' we must mean by faith 'only' that Faith is the 'only' *inward* instrument of Justification, as our Lord's death is the only *meritorious* cause of it: the everlasting purpose of God (Art. xvii.) the *final* cause: and Baptism (Art. xxvii.) the *outward* means. Hence 'Baptised or Justified' (Hom., 1 b.) Faith is not *meritorious* of Justification any more than works: both are *conditions* of our salvation—Faith *antecedent* in order of time, good works *consequent*: Faith vicarious in the case of infants: Faith

personal in conscious agents: Faith asks for justification, and in this point of view stands 'alone,' and prior to all other graces connected with it. So was the prayer of the penitent thief on the Cross. Had he lived there can be no doubt that he would have washed away his sins in Baptism (Art. xxii. 16), and worked out his salvation with 'fear and trembling' (Philip. ii. 12.)

OF WORKS BEFORE AND AFTER JUSTIFICATION. (Arts. xii. and xiii.)—If Justification be *instrumentally* connected with Baptism: if that Sacrament be not a 'bare sign' but conveys grace by 'quickenings' Faith (Art. xxv): if through that Sacrament 'the Lord added to the Church daily *tous sozomenous*' if St. Paul was told 'to wash away his sins,' and Cornelius was specially directed to send for St. Peter that he might hear the Gospel and 'be baptised,' certainly the *grace* of justification, viz., remission of sins, adoption to be sons of God and the promise of the inheritance of heaven is in the *ordinary* course of God's providence *to be attributed to that Sacrament, and that only*. Yet there is no doubt that the Holy Spirit sometimes puts into the hearts of men good desires before they be thus *officially* justified, and leads them to faith in Christ, and calling upon God by His inspiration. According as they follow and improve these motions of the Spirit so do they obtain a more abundant and earlier supply of grace and blessing, and at last the grace of Baptismal Justification. But their state prior to Baptism is wholly different from that of persons *utterly destitute* of God's spirit, who think to be saved by 'passing their lives diligently according to the law they profess and the light of nature,' so disavowing the grace of *congruity*. This latter was the obnoxious doctrine which Luther struck down—which made man the source of his own salvation—this it is which is

condemned by this Article: this was maintained by the Franciscan divines, and this was utterly condemned at the suggestion of the Dominicans by the Council of Trent (Lib. ii., c. 76, 83). I know not then how the interpretation put upon this Article can be consistent with Roman Catholic errors when the Church of Rome has hereby formally disavowed the doctrine of *meritum de congruo*. But indeed the whole notion of *merit* in its accurate sense is disavowed in the following passage of the Tract:—‘It is not the works themselves which make them meet, as some schoolmen seem to have said, but the *secret aid* of God, vouchsafed equally with the ‘grace and spirit’ which is the portion of the baptised for the merits of Christ’s sacrifice.’ Cyprian in his 77th Epistle speaks thus: ‘*Remunerans in nobis quicquid ipse præstitit, et honorans quod ipse perficit,*’ which subverts the Pelagian notion of man’s independent merit, and with him the writer of the Tract agrees.”

The next extract to be given from the vicar’s intended *apologia* treats of a matter upon which there is much need of clearer comprehension in popular religion:

THE ROMISH DOCTRINE OF PURGATORY, &c. (Art. xxii.)—“The question here occurs—Is *every doctrine* of purgatory Romish? If not, what is the doctrine condemned by the Article? I will tell you what I think is *not* condemned and then what is: I think, then, that it is perfectly Scriptural to believe that the souls of those who die ‘in the Lord’ are in ‘joy and felicity,’ that they ‘rest from their labours,’ especially ‘their warfare with the carnal mind,’ and the law of sin which was ‘in their members’ when upon earth. I think it also perfectly Scriptural to suppose that by the removal of the hindrance of the body and by the presence of their glorified Saviour

they are continually *growing* in love and knowledge of the Infinite God. If this is rightly called purgatory—which I should say *not*, though a purgatorial doctrine—I believe it; nor do I think it ‘the Romish doctrine’ of purgatory which is condemned in the Article. That I practically learnt at Naples. Happening to take a passage to *Castel a Mare* in the ordinary passage boat, a tin alms-box was presented to me, on which were painted figures in flames. I immediately guessed that the money was collected for masses to pray *wicked* souls out of purgatory. I accordingly refused to contribute for any such purposes, but immediately gave alms to a wretched object in the boat, before the boatmen and passengers, in order to *protest* against the ‘Romish’ doctrine of purgatory. Again, surely there is an Anglican doctrine of pardons as well as a Romish. The absolution in the Visitation of the Sick—let it be declaratory and not judicial if you please—still is an *official* act on the part of the duly called and ordained minister of God’s Word. Not every doctrine, therefore, of pardons is to be eschewed, but the pardon by the Pope of souls in purgatory. Nor is all veneration for relics forbidden; but only idolatrous veneration. Suppose it were genuine, I should venerate exceedingly a piece of the true Cross, *did* one exist. I know an excellent Protestant baronet who told me that he could not help kissing the golden-sandaled foot of the figure of our Saviour by Michael Angelo in the *Chrisa sopra Minerva*, at Rome; and the earnest-minded, truth-loving Dr. Arnold in one of his latest journals vindicates the usage of images as bringing home to us very forcibly the humanity of our blessed Lord. This is no more idolatrous than ‘worshipping with our bodies’ our wives when we wed them. Again, not all ‘invocation’ of saints is wrong, *e.g.*, that which is *ejaculatory* and not *precatory*:

—for example, ‘O ye souls of the righteous,’ and ‘O Ananias,’ &c., in the *Benedicite*, and in the Psalms (cxlviii.) ‘Praise Him, all ye angels of His.’ On this point the author of Tract 90 is very explicit, for he says, ‘Such invocations are not censurable; you mean *nothing definite* by them, addressing them to beings who, *we know*, cannot hear.’ If, as he says, the saints cannot hear, they *cannot* be *invoked* in prayer. Ejaculatory commemoration of them ought not perhaps to be called ‘Invocation’ at all, any more than progressive sanctification of saints in the intermediate state should be called purgatory. The ambiguity of the term only serves to excite suspicion.”

Passing over some of the more obvious points in the essay, there may now be adduced a scholarly comment upon one of the Thirty-nine Articles which it may safely be said is generally regarded as bearing an entirely different meaning from the one here urged as permissible:

MASSES. (Art. xxxi.)—“Perhaps the view taken of this Article has excited more alarm than any other. I myself was strongly impressed with the feeling of its unfairness on reading the *first* edition of the Tract, now four years ago. Nor can I even now say that that impression is entirely removed, though considerably modified by the second edition. The question, however, is not whether you or I dislike the statements of the Tract, but whether ‘a literal and grammatical interpretation’ of the Article bears the sense affixed; and, secondly, whether that sense is consistent with ‘Roman Catholic errors.’ On turning to the Latin of the Articles one cannot help being struck with the plural form in which Masses are spoken of—‘*Unde sacrificia missarum quibus, vulgo dicebatur sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pænæ aut culpæ pro vivis et defunctis, blasphema, figmenta sunt et perniciosæ imposturæ.*’

I confess it does seem strange that if the sacrifice of the Mass was *primarily* in view that the Reformers should not have said *Sacrificium Missæ*. Again, '*quibus vulgo dicebatur.*' Is this the way in which the doctrine of the Roman Church with regard to the Sacrifice of the Mass would have been enunciated? '*Vulgo dicebatur*': rather one should have expected *firmissime assentur*. But it will be said under the condemnation of particular private solitary masses the essential doctrine of the Mass itself, in which the priest 'offers Christ for the remission of sins for the quick and dead,' is condemned. True. And so also says the writer of the Tract, *if* the priest offers in the Mass a *second* or *continually recurring* atonement (p. 60) '*independent* of or distinct from the Sacrifice on the Cross' (p. 63). The writer, indeed, appears to doubt whether this is the creed of the Roman Church, though doubtless it is an actually existing error in portions of that Church. And looking to the statements concerning the Mass in the 'Garden of the Soul,' I, too, doubt whether any such view *is* held by the Roman Catholics of England or Ireland. But whether the author of the Tract is right or wrong, whether his view of the Article be correct or no, it is certainly not consistent with Roman Catholic errors, because by speaking as he does of the Mass as a *commemorative* offering for the quick and dead for the remission of sin, he brings himself under *anathema* of the Council of Trent (lib. vi. 58). One more observation remains to be made, which is this: The author does not say that the Mass is an *offering* simply for the quick and dead for remission of pain and guilt, but an *offering commemorative*, *i.e.*, commemorative—as I understand it—of the one great Sacrifice, propitiation, and satisfaction, offered for the sins original and actual of the

whole world ; that is, in other words, for quick and dead for remission of pain or guilt. The Romanist may indeed assert that the Mass is an offering *propitiatory* for the living and the dead *in purgatory*. But our author denies *any* purgatory from which *sinful* souls can be *released*, and in calling the offering of the Mass *commemorative* he clearly points to the one oblation once offered for the quick and dead, *i.e.*, the *spirits in prison* to whom Christ Himself went and preached. On the whole, then, I do not see any violence done to the terms of the Article, nor any sense given to it consistent with Roman Catholic errors."

Upon the fundamental Roman error of the relation of the Pope to other branches of the Church than that in Italy, and also on the question of the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, the argument is very simply and clearly stated :

BISHOP OF ROME. (Art. xxxii.)—"By explaining the word 'hath' in the statement 'that the bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in the realm of this land' by 'ought to have,' the author of Tract 90 has evidently made the sense of the Article more stringent against the Papal pretensions. Mr. Ward, for example, might say he 'hath not,' but at the same time might think he ought to have. The writer of the Tract, on the contrary, interprets 'hath not' by 'ought not to have,' and so shut the door on the subterfuges, of which Romanisers might otherwise avail themselves. How is this consistent with holding Roman Catholic errors? 'Popery,' he says, 'began in the exertions and passions of man, and what man can make man can destroy. The Reformers, who would not destroy a ministry which the Apostles began, could destroy a dominion which the Pope founded.' The bishop of Rome,

the head of the Catholic world, is not the *centre of unity*, except as having a *primacy of order*. This Archbishop Wake was willing to allow—(Mosheim's *Ecc. Hist.* Appendix 3, No. 5.) The English Church was essentially complete without Rome and naturally independent of it. There is nothing in the Apostolic system which gives an authority to the Pope over a Church such as it does not give to a bishop. Lastly, the author denies that the king could 'of divine right,' claim the supremacy. Certainly the king is not bishop any more than Moses was also Aaron, yet in all causes and over all persons he is in these his dominions supreme. Nevertheless, I suppose all would allow that it would be competent to the Archbishop of Canterbury to refuse Communion to the king were he to be an infidel or 'notorious evil liver.' He might subject himself to *Præmunire*; but yet it might become the duty of the bishops to provide a succession of ministers, as in Scotland, should the king become Presbyterian."

And now there need only be added the conclusion which was proposed for this contribution to controversial theology:—"I have now gone through the various parts of the Tract, and on the whole do not see how its explanations are either foreign to the 'literal and grammatical sense' or to the Convocation of 1662, from whose authority we receive them; or are consistent with 'Roman Catholic errors.' That the views propounded are Catholic and so in harmony with the Prayer Book is most true; that they savour of Melancthon rather than Luther is also true; but that the author has perverted the Articles I for one cannot allow, because they were expressly framed for the purpose of comprehending a large variety of opinion—excluding only certain palpable errors and affirming certain extreme truths; and while I repudiate 'unnatural'

interpretations and deny that those who accept the whole cycle of Roman Catholic doctrines (as Mr. Ward told us he did in his defence before Convocation) can *bona fide* subscribe the Articles, I for one will not consent to narrow their meaning to an un-Catholic, Lutheran sense, miserable in its results as at this time exhibited in the theology of Germany—(see Dewar's *German Protestantism*)—or help to cast a stigma on that singularly able writer, whose retirement from public notice since the first edition of the Tract (in deference to the wish of his bishop), shows that he is far above the vulgar ambition of leading a party, but that to advance the cause of God's truth is the single purpose of his self-denying life."

Though not pretending to any great originality of conception, the essay, of which the foregoing excerpts give a fair idea, is yet marked by a mental accuracy and a grasp of the history of dogma which cannot but command respect even in cases where it fails to carry conviction. And now having paused for awhile in the story of a life to let its subject make his own manifesto of Church principles, it is time to hurry on to those scenes where these principles were, in more or less completeness, practically applied in a difficult and important sphere.



CHAPTER IV.

THE BISHOPRIC OF ADELAIDE.

TEN years peacefully went by for the future bishop in the Northampton vicarage. Speaking of these days he wrote, at the close of his life—"Though not discontented with my lot I nevertheless felt at times a want of some wider sphere of action than a country village. An opportunity offering I did, accordingly, apply to the patron of a London church then about to be opened, but the preferment had been destined for another."

It was about this time that the Church of England awoke from her lethargy and began to realise that the policy of extensive colonisation upon which the English people had so successfully entered, imposed a heavy responsibility upon England's Church. The powerful and ever to be remembered letter of the bishop of London—Blomfield—to the Archbishop of Canterbury—Howley—in reference to the neglected spiritual condition of English colonists in different parts of the world had led to the establishing in 1841 of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, which since its inauguration has provided over six hundred thousand pounds for the endowment of more than forty colonial dioceses. It supplies a striking and satisfactory contrast to recall that whereas in 1833 there were only five colonial bishops and the Church of England was spending but one hundred thousand pounds per annum on missionary work, there are now seventy-five English

bishops in the colonies and the missionary expenditure approaches half a million a year. Doubtless the impetus given to the reviving energies of the English Church by the Oxford movement had also its influence in leading churchmen to be eager to remove the scandal of their brethren who had gone out as colonists being left to the care of a handful of chaplains and almost entirely without episcopal oversight and ministration. But the individual name of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts must always be prominently and gratefully remembered in any reference to the extension of the colonial episcopate, for it was her offer to assist in the endowment of bishoprics in English colonies which led to the founding, in the year 1847, of the sees of Capetown, and Melbourne, Adelaide, and Newcastle in Australia, an epoch which has often been spoken of as 'the birthday' of the Australian Church. A choice of the new sees was offered to Robert Gray, who by his acceptance of Capetown made an election which in process of time involved him in the famous controversy with the latitudinarian Bishop Colenso of Natal. It has been said that the bishopric of Adelaide was mentioned for the then archdeacon of Chichester, now known to fame as Cardinal Manning. The diocese of Melbourne fell to the distinguished Cambridge scholar, Charles Perry—now living in retirement in England and a canon of Llandaff; and for Newcastle there was selected the devoted William Tyrrell, who immortalised himself by never visiting his native land after reaching his diocese and by bequeathing to it a vast pastoral estate which promises some day to place the see of Newcastle in an enviable financial position. It was at the end of July 1847 that the following letter was received with much surprise at Ravensthorpe vicarage :

Rev. and dear Sir—It being a matter of the utmost importance to obtain the services of men who are qualified by ability, attainments, judgment, and temper for important stations in the Church as bishops in the newly-constituted dioceses in Australia, I trust that you will be disposed to accept an office in which, from all I have heard, I consider you will be eminently useful. In temporal respects these bishoprics have little to offer; the salaries of the bishops are little more than eight hundred a year. But this, I understand, is sufficient to bear all the expenses in a country where incomes in general are small, and money goes further than in England. The diocese over which you would preside is situated in the north-east of Australia. It is not yet determined whether the see shall take its name from Newcastle or some other town. I have reason to think that in point of situation it is the most desirable of any of the new sees. The climate is uniformly represented as very fine.

I remain, dear sir,

Your faithful servant,

Rev. Augustus Short.

W. CANTUAR.

P.S.—A new see is also to be established at Adelaide, in South Australia, and it is indifferent to me which of the two you would choose. Before you determine, however, you might consult Mr. Hawkins, the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who can give full information of all particulars.

So without, as he often said, his having in any way ‘solicited’ it, the call came to the country parson to accept the responsibilities and to encounter the difficulties of a missionary bishopric. Personally he never questioned what should be the reply to Archbishop Howley, but he hesitated a little on account of his wife, knowing that separation from England and family connections would be a sacrifice of no small magnitude to her. But to Mrs. Short, too, the invitation seemed clearly the voice of duty, and therefore, after some little further correspondence, which resulted in Adelaide instead of Newcastle being settled upon as the scene of the future life-labour, there came the final note from the archbishop, in which he said: “Your acceptance of the bishopric of Adelaide—for this I under-

stand is your choice—has given me sincere pleasure. I anticipate the greatest advantage, under the Divine blessing, to the infant Church of the colony from your zeal and ability.” Looking back at this turning point in his history the bishop writes: “I mark how utterly ‘unfurnished,’ so to speak, was I to fulfil such a ministry. After quitting the university of Oxford in 1836 for the duties of a retired country vicar, I had been removed from intercourse with the ardent spirits and learned theologians, who began the revival of the Church of England on Catholic Church principles. The dangerous assaults of Erastian statesmen and politicians, issuing in the disendowment of ten Irish bishoprics, first led to this combination of Anglo-Catholic churchmen. I at that time, I must confess, possessed a very shallow knowledge of church history and patristic theology. My guiding principle, however, became ‘adherence to old forms, principles, and customs of the Church as by law established,’ modified only by the differing circumstances of the new country and the new social state in which I was henceforth to be domiciled.”

Having been admitted by his university to the degree of Doctor of Divinity, the first bishop of Adelaide was in due order consecrated in Westminster Abbey on St. Peter's Day, 1847, together with the bishops of Capetown, Melbourne, and Newcastle (New South Wales), by Archbishop Howley, assisted by the then bishops of London, Winchester, Gloucester and Bristol, Chichester, and Lichfield.

Letters patent constituting the new bishoprics were duly issued. These State documents afterwards formed the subject of ecclesiastical suits in the Courts in England as to the status given by them to the colonial bishops, and

also as to the jurisdiction they conferred. Originally letters patent were granted to Bishop Broughton in 1836, when he was appointed bishop of Australia with a see including the whole continent and its contiguous islands. These letters were issued before responsible government was granted to New South Wales. But by the Imperial statute v. and vi. of 1842, c. 76, a representative legislature was created for that colony. In the same year, and only nineteen days after the passing of the English Act just quoted, the diocese of Tasmania was carved out of the enormous see of Bishop Broughton, and letters patent again authorised the formation of the bishopric. But by the judgment of the Privy Council in the celebrated case of Long v. Capetown, arising out of the attempt by Bishop Gray to depose Bishop Colenso for false doctrine, it was decided that the English Crown has no power to create bishoprics with territorial and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in colonies for which representative institutions had been provided. The effect of this decision was to invalidate all episcopal letters patent affecting the autonomous colonies of Australia, subsequent to those of Bishop Broughton. Some years after the decision in the Bishop Colenso case the bishop of Adelaide wrote the following perspicuous note on the question of his letters patent: "In 1847 I was asked—with no solicitation whatever on my part—to fill the see of Adelaide. Certain letters patent purported to assign me a *territorial* diocese coniciding with the civil boundaries of the colonies of South and Western Australia: to give me legal jurisdiction over all the clergy of the Church of England and lay members therein: assigned a church belonging to certain trustees to be my cathedral—out of which the trustees could have shut me if they pleased: made me

subject to a metropolitan—the Bishop of Sydney—with appellate jurisdiction: created me, as a territorial bishop, a corporation sole: authorised me to constitute archdeacons and other dignitaries with jurisdiction over the clergy: claiming also for the Crown to appoint bishops to be my successors in the see; and to command the Archbishop of Canterbury to ordain and consecrate them to the said see: claiming also to divide and alter its limits, and erect other sees out of the said diocese. In obedience to the call I came to Adelaide, literally ‘not knowing whither I went,’ but wishful under God to carry out the duties to which in His Providence I was called. In 1867 it was so ordered that I should revisit England. In the intervening years the ‘Capetown troubles’ had broken out, and in trying the cause *Long v. Capetown*, the judicial committee of the Privy Council pronounced the power of the Crown where it had created representative legislatures to create or divide territorial sees without the consent of those bodies to be null and void. Again, the power of the Crown, without Imperial or colonial legislative enactment, to give legal jurisdiction or to create courts was declared to be equally illegal. Thus, together with diocesan validity, provincial appellate jurisdiction came to an end. Without the power of the Crown to divide sees and erect bishoprics, how could it erect a province comprising many dioceses? Without the power to give appellate jurisdiction what becomes of the letters patent appointment of a bishop having metropolitan jurisdiction over other bishops? ‘*Stat magni nominis umbra.*’ Deprived, then, of Crown prerogative status, unsupported either by Imperial or colonial enactment, the diocese of Adelaide shrank into a voluntary church. The see not being legally territorial the further doubt arose whether the Crown could lawfully grant corporate rights to the

person of a bishop not possessed of a territorial see. Thus the legal estate of the whole see endowment, real or personal, became jeopardised, and its passing to my successors (not to be appointed by the Crown) uncertain. All my twenty years' labours, cares, anxieties, in establishing the Church in South Australia seemed likely to prove fruitless. But more ecclesiastical discomforts still were in store for me. The clergy, whom I had ordained and imagined to be clergymen of the Church of England, I found to be incapacitated by an old Imperial statute from officiating or holding preferment in England. A friend in the Jerusalem Chamber during the session of Convocation in 1867 might well ask me—as he did—to *what church I belonged*. Up to that time I supposed that the diocese of Adelaide was part of the United Church of England and Ireland; but even this comforting imagination was swept away. By law there is no longer such a church. I am nevertheless told that I am by letters patent subject to the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of Canterbury, though I am not a bishop of the province of Canterbury, nor have I a seat in the Synod or Convocation of that province, nor any legal right of appeal to the archbishop's Court of Arches, or to the judicial committee of the Privy Council, except through the civil Courts of the colony, or from the decisions of an inferior titular metropolitan. Such, then, is the true status of a colonial bishop under the prestige of letters patent, where a representative legislature has been established by the Crown *previous* to the issue of those letters patent. The Act 5 and 6, Vict., c. 76, was passed July 30, 1842. On the 18th of August, 1842, letters patent were granted to Bishop Broughton, separating the see of Tasmania, and other letters patent constituting him metropolitan over that and the several

sees of Newcastle, Adelaide, and Melbourne were issued, bearing date June 25, 1847. A comparison of the dates will show the invalidity of the powers professed to be given. During my stay in England in 1866-7 this question was much discussed; and so dissatisfied were some with the altered relations of certain colonial sees to the Crown that a disposition was manifested to cancel their endowments. But I was in no way responsible for those alterations, resulting from the decisions of the Privy Council; on the contrary, I have been the sufferer from them. The status to which I was called by the Crown had been swept away by the Crown lawyers; nor could any act or declaration of mine make that to be fact which was not fact, nor that a reality which was at best nominal. My real episcopal duties, however, towards the members of the Anglican Church in South Australia, and my obligation to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which originated the bishopric, not having been destroyed by the failure and absence of State recognition, I resolved by God's grace to carry on the work to which His providence called me as well as I could, and to supply what was wanting through the help of the clergy and laity of Adelaide in Synod assembled and bound together by compact. The course of events in England has followed the direction given by the decision of the Privy Council in *Long v. Capetown*. Letters patent have ceased to be issued, the Crown not appointing bishops to colonial sees. The 'mandate' for their consecration by the Archbishop of Canterbury has been changed to licence. The colonial churches are no longer *quasi* parts of the Established Church. The Irish branch has been lopped off. The Act of Uniformity of Charles II. is limited to England, Wales, and Berwick-upon-Tweed. The canons of the province of Canterbury are binding

proprio vigore, on the clergy only of the Established Church."

Before leaving the subject of the letters patent it will be interesting to quote the letter which the munificent foundress of three colonial bishoprics addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury expressing her very natural anxiety when it was determined by the highest court in the realm that the legal powers professed to be conferred on the colonial bishops had no valid existence :

London, 12th July, 1865.

My Lord Archbishop—I am constrained by circumstances of recent occurrence to address your Grace as the official representative of the president of the meeting of archbishops and bishops held at Lambeth on Whit-Sunday, 1841. I had always felt a warm interest in the object of the declaration then agreed to, and about the year 1845 I resolved to offer to the Crown, through the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley, my individual aid towards providing without further delay for the members of our Church established in two of its colonies the benefits of episcopal government. With this object in view I had several interviews with the archbishop, and in order that there might be no pecuniary difficulty in the way of the archbishop arranging at once measures with Her Majesty's Government I undertook to guarantee an adequate provision for the endowment of two episcopal sees to be erected by the Crown. Her Majesty was pleased thereon to issue her letters patent erecting the episcopal see of Adelaide in South Australia, and that of Capetown in the settlement in the Cape of Good Hope, and to nominate bishops thereto, and I fulfilled my guarantee by paying under the advice of the archbishop into the Bank of England, to the account of the treasurers of the archbishops and bishops, a specific sum of money for the endowment of the see of Adelaide and a like sum for the endowment of the see of Capetown. When I provided a fund for the endowment of the see of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island with archdeaconries attached thereto, in 1859, I, with the concurrence of Archbishop Sumner, your Grace's immediate predecessor, pursued precisely the same course which I had before adopted under the advice of Archbishop Howley.

It will be within your Grace's recollection that the declaration of archbishops and bishops to which I have referred, and which was agreed to at Lambeth Palace in 1841 by all present, and in which your Grace,

although not present, desired to express your concurrence as bishop of Ripon, set forth that the archbishops and bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, contemplating with deep concern the insufficient provision hitherto made for the spiritual wants of our National Church in the British colonies, were prepared to undertake the charge of a fund for the endowment of additional bishoprics in the colonies, and to become responsible for its application, and that a standing committee had been appointed with full powers to confer with the Ministers of the Crown, and to arrange measures in concert with them for the erection of episcopal sees in certain specified dependencies of the Crown, amongst which the Cape of Good Hope was enumerated. I had always supposed that in undertaking to provide funds for the endowment of colonial sees I was co-operating with the archbishops and bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland in laying the foundation of a system of efficient church government for the members of our National Church resident in the respective colonies, and that the Crown by its letters patent had power to give legal effect to an order of things calculated to secure that the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as by law established should be maintained in their completeness amongst the congregations of our own communion in those colonies. Without this security I should not have guaranteed the endowment funds, and upon the faith of this having been accomplished by the issuing of Her Majesty's letters patent I fulfilled in each case my guarantee. In the numerous conversations which I had with Dr. Howley he uniformly expressed himself thankful that the Church of England had been so firmly planted in the colonies during his Primacy, and considered that its constitution had been secured in every colonial dependency of the Crown in which an episcopal see had been founded. The late bishop of London, Dr. Blomfield, with whom I was in constant communication, always represented to me that he also considered that the planting of the Church of England in the colonies, in the completeness of its order and discipline, to be one of the distinctions and privileges of his episcopate. The declaration, however, of the state of the Law which is to be found in the report of the judicial committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council upon the case of the bishops of Capetown and Natal, has drawn my attention more particularly to the fact that the conditions upon which I undertook to make provision for the endowment of a bishop's see at Capetown have not been fulfilled by Her Majesty's letters patent, as I find with the most painful surprise that the bishop nominated to the see of Capetown is declared in that report not to have any effective or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and my anxiety is increased by the advice which I have received from eminent

counsel that the letters patent of the Crown purporting to erect the sees of Adelaide and of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, with jurisdiction over the clergy in those colonies, may prove to be equally ineffectual with the letters patent of Capetown. I had considered it probable that I should receive some communication from your Grace, on the part of the committee of archbishops and bishops, respecting the course they might deem it expedient to pursue in order to secure that effect should be given to our common intentions, and I have hitherto abstained from troubling your Grace with any enquiry upon a subject involving many interests and necessarily requiring very careful consideration, but as the session is now closed and as life is uncertain, I think it advisable not to delay any longer applying to your Grace for information upon this subject, and more particularly to enquire whether your Grace or the committee have received any communication from the Ministers of the Crown. I am informed that if no further measures are adopted to give legal effect to the arrangements which Her Majesty's letters patent were intended to sanction, and were supposed to have sanctioned effectively, the funds provided by me for the endowment of these colonial sees may possibly revert to me as founder, or to my representatives. It will, therefore, be my duty to provide for such an eventuality, and as my position has so unexpectedly become one of responsibility, anxiety, and suspense, may I request your Grace to communicate this letter at your earliest convenience to the committee of archbishops and bishops and to place it on their records.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

A. G. BURDETT-COUTTS.

But happily the contingency which the Baroness hinted at—of the funds she had apportioned for episcopal endowments reverting to herself because of the altered position of the colonial bishoprics after the Privy Council judgment—never took shape, and she has lived to see the bishoprics mainly created by the pious application of her wealth developing into vigorous life despite their loss of State authority.

Little time passed between the consecration of the bishop of Adelaide and his departure for Australia, but not much help seems to have been given him to go forth fitly furnished for the discharge of his office, for he wrote

years afterwards: "I cannot say that in those days the managers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, by whose agency colonial dioceses were founded, equipped their neophyte diocesan rulers with more than very general instructions concerning their new dioceses. No archbishop, bishop, or bishop's secretary supplied even the form of clergymen's licences or letters of orders, or of occasional services for consecration of churches, burial grounds, and the various other instruments of diocesan or parochial organisation. Given the bishop, the evolution of the diocese was assumed to be a matter of course." In the *Life of Bishop Gray* similar testimony is given by that prelate to the unsatisfactory way in which the pioneer bishops were treated at the outset of episcopal life: "I was much disappointed," Bishop Gray wrote just before his consecration, "with all I heard in London. I have had no prospects held out to me of assistance from any quarter. Then, though the bishop [of London] wrote twice earnestly to Lord Grey [then secretary of State for the colonies] he received me in a most frigid way for ten minutes, and seemed evidently to consider the whole subject a bore, and gave me no encouragement to go to him for anything again. The whole status of the bishop as to power, discipline, &c., is most painful and disappointing. Altogether I feel we are placed in a most cruel position. We have all our higher feelings of duty and devotion appealed to, and the Church and State leave us to shift for ourselves. I could not get a decisive answer from anyone upon any one point, either archbishop, bishop of London, &c." But Bishop Short was pre-eminently a self-reliant man, and so, not discouraged by initial difficulties, he set to work to gather some funds for his far-away diocese from his English friends and those willing to forward the missio-

nary work of the Church. In his published appeal for subscriptions the bishop thus described his 'United Diocese of South and Western Australia':—

"The colony of South Australia, founded in the year 1836, has risen with unexampled rapidity in numbers and importance. Its population is now believed to exceed twenty-five thousand, and from the rich mines of copper and lead discovered in many parts of the colony an extraordinary increase by immigration both from Europe and the neighbouring colonies may be expected. The concentration, however, of the population consequent upon mining operations, while it calls for the immediate supply of religious ordinances, affords at the same time the best hope of their being effectually supplied. It appears that two additional clergymen are required for North and South Adelaide, with their adjacent villages, Thebarton, Hindmarsh, Walkerville, Goodwood, &c. Seven other districts—besides Port Adelaide, Mount Barker, and Gawler, which have resident clergymen—are sufficiently peopled to call for the residence or missionary visits of a pastor.

"The population of Western Australia, on the other hand, is scattered over an immense extent of country, but with exemplary zeal, aided by friends and societies in England, the members of our church have provided for six clergymen, and have built suitable churches for them to perform their duties. They have also built four substantial churches where the offices of a clergyman cannot be obtained, the inhabitants of those districts preferring to hear the service read by the nearest magistrate until a minister can be provided with a maintenance. One of these districts, King George's Sound, is so distant from all other settled parts of the colony that many months often elapse without a

clergyman visiting it. The children are consequently unbaptised—the sacraments are not administered—marriages are, perforce, civil contracts—and the dead are buried without the rites of the church! The colony has been established seventeen years: all the churches are unconsecrated—the youth are unconfirmed—and at the Vasse the dead are buried in the fields; yet notwithstanding the great disadvantages under which it labours, it is gratifying to add that the criminal statistics show fewer offences against the Law than in any of our possessions in the East. It is almost vain to hope that this character can be maintained unless some better provision for the spiritual instruction and superintendence of the rising generation is made by our Church.

“A considerable effort has likewise been made in South Australia by the South Australian Church Society. A sum of three hundred pounds has been collected in the past year, and it is hoped that by regular contributions from every individual belonging to our Church, a considerable yearly income may be realised. Subscriptions to the amount of one thousand six hundred and fifty pounds have also been made since 1844 towards liquidating the debt on Trinity Church. But until local resources can be fully and systematically developed, the presence and labours of more clergy are needed, and for their *temporary* support the aid of the mother country is required. It must be remembered that clergy, churches, schoolhouses, parsonages, glebes, are all needed; and it can hardly be expected that, amid the struggles of a young colony, such objects can adequately be provided out of the limited capital of the industrious emigrant. It is during the trying period of his first establishment that he requires, and it is hoped will not ask in vain for, the

support of his fellow Christians and fellow churchmen ; members of the same Body, and heirs of the same immortal hopes with himself. Those who possess land or other property in the colony, or whose relatives are settled there, will, it is believed, feel it to be their especial privilege and duty to contribute according to their ability for the furtherance of this holy cause. An income of one hundred pounds per annum, together with an allowance of one hundred and twenty pounds for outfit and passage, is the lowest remuneration which can be justly offered to any minister of the gospel who is willing to give himself to the Lord's service in the colonial churches. By the blessing of God it is hoped that many will be found to go forth and labour in the vineyard, content with the simple measure of food and raiment which will thus be supplied."

The fairly substantial sum of nearly two thousand five hundred pounds was by the agency of this appeal received for the infant diocese, and among the names of distinguished contributors appear those of the Queen Dowager Adelaide, the Marquis of Westminster, W. E. Gladstone, Mr. Justice Coleridge, Admiral Hawker—whose son, the Hon. G. C. Hawker, M.P., is now a prominent South Australian colonist and politician, and a generous supporter of the Church—and the Revs. Dr. Pusey, W. J. E. Bennett, Jacobson, Moberly, Gresley, F. E. Paget, W. K. Hamilton, and G. A. Denison. In a letter of farewell to England addressed to the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, then secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the bishop wrote: "We (the Australian bishops) ought to be very thankful for the earnest missionary spirit which has been called forth by our consecration. Amid numerous offers of clergymen and catechists to go forth with us to the work, we have been

enabled to accept the services of those who appear to be animated with singleness of purpose and devotedness to the cause of God. And this raises cheering hopes that by His grace and blessing we shall 'not run in vain or labour in vain.' Surely this is a ground for thankfulness to the Church at large. Lastly, the spirit of prayer which has been fostered by our mission and the continued intercessions which have been, and are still, and will continue to be, offered up for us evince, in the great body of the Church, a true sense of man's insufficiency as well as of the power of Divine grace. May we not hope, therefore, for an abundant outpouring of the Spirit, in answer to such effectual fervent prayer, on the Church both at home and abroad?"

It was on the 1st of September, 1847, that the bishop with Mrs. Short and children started from Warblington rectory, Havant—the residence of his brother-in-law, the Rev. W. Norris—for Portsmouth, from whence he embarked for South Australia. To Warblington churchyard thirty-six years after, the body of the venerable first bishop of Adelaide was taken to be laid to rest beside his father and mother. It supplies an index to the marvellous development of the means of communication between England and Australia to chronicle that the bishop and family left the home country in a barque of only three hundred and sixty-two tons burden—the *Derwent*, Macpherson, master—and that the voyage occupied sixteen weeks and five days. Upon his final return to England the bishop was carried by one of the magnificent P. and O. steamers, which now bring their fortnightly mails to Adelaide and make the trips in less than six weeks. A bad start was made by the *Derwent*, for on the third day after setting sail the bishop's diary notes:

“Wind foul. Beating down Channel : made no way. Off Portland : all sick : children crying : maids screaming : ladies ill : in bed all day and night. Seas rougher than before.” (!)

As fellow labourers, Bishop Short took with him the Revs. M. B. Hale, M.A.—the first archdeacon of Adelaide, and subsequently first bishop of Perth, Western Australia, from whence he was transferred to the see of Brisbane, Queensland—T. P. Wilson, M.A.—the first headmaster of St. Peter’s Collegiate School, Adelaide—and A. Burnet, and there had been sent on in an earlier ship the Rev. J. C. Bagshawe. The voyage, after the preliminary storm in the Channel had been got through, proved an unusually calm and pleasurable one. The bishop’s record on the day before landing is : “We are becalmed at the entrance of Spencer’s Gulf : Kangaroo Island astern, Cape Jervis on our starboard quarter. Yesterday and Saturday—Christmas Day—we had our regular services, with fifteen communicants and a good attendance in the evening. I have preached seventeen times on board, and we have had morning service every day. Not a single gale or storm has prevented us, and I should think the same had scarcely ever happened before in a four months’ voyage. Much reason have we to be thankful for this and other blessings and comforts.” On Tuesday, December 28, 1847, while the residents were engaged in celebrating the eleventh anniversary of the proclamation of the colony, the *Derwent* cast anchor in Port Adelaide.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST YEARS OF EPISCOPAL LIFE.

THE happy coincidence of the *Derwent's* voyage ending on the anniversary of South Australia's proclamation day resulted in the bishop and his party being introduced to colonial life under cheerful circumstances. An early episcopal report to England to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel details evidently pleasant first impressions of Australia: "Nothing could exceed the friendliness," writes the bishop, "of my reception by his Excellency the Governor, Colonel Robe, who pressed me to take up my abode, with all my family and servants, at his house. In the evening there was a large assembly in honour of the day, which afforded me the opportunity of being introduced to many of the principal persons of the colony and seeing a large portion of the society of Adelaide. It was like a dream. The tone and appearance of the party assembled, the music, lights, uniforms, and dresses were so thoroughly those of an English country town on the occasion of some local festival that I could hardly realise the fact that I was at the antipodes of England."

There were five clergy of the Church of England in South Australia at the time of the bishop's arrival. When the colony was founded a chaplain, the Rev. C. B. Howard, M.A., came with the colonisation party. From its report for the year 1837 we learn that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had aided this pioneer

priest with a grant of two hundred pounds towards a wooden church, to accommodate three hundred and fifty people, which had been sent out to Mr. Howard together with altar vessels and service books. A parsonage house of wood had also been forwarded. In the erection of these buildings it is told that the solitary clergyman took his share of the manual labour. In 1840 Bishop Broughton reported of the South Australian portion of his continent diocese that a second priest, the Rev. James Farrell, M.A. —afterwards first dean of Adelaide—had been provided for the infant settlement by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but these two clergy only worked together for a few years, as in 1843 Mr. Howard died at the early age of thirty-three years. He has the reputation of having been a popular and devoted man, who cheerfully underwent much hardship and fatigue in the discharge of his arduous duty. Mr. Farrell had to struggle on alone for about three years, but there then joined him the Revs. W. J. Woodcock — who succeeded Archdeacon Hale upon his elevation to the bishopric of Perth — and James Pollitt, and shortly afterwards further additions to the little band of clergy came in the Rev. G. Newenham and the Rev. W. H. Coombs, who still survives and has occupied his first charge—the town of Gawler about twenty miles from Adelaide — for just forty years, and also been for many years a canon of the cathedral church. The want of episcopal constitution and ministrations soon began to be painfully felt. Bishop Broughton had spoken in a report to England in 1840 of his intention to visit South Australia, but had never been able to carry his purpose into effect, and Mr. Woodcock in evident sorrow enters in his journal: “It is lamentable to think that the churches remain unconsecrated and the

young people unconfirmed." As early as 1840 a move had been made towards the endowment of a bishopric by the grant to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel of town lands in Adelaide by W. Leigh, Esq., of Little Aston Hall, Lichfield, but it was not found possible at that time to proceed further in the matter. Mr. Leigh's wise gift, however, has now developed into a valuable estate, producing an average rental of some three thousand five hundred pounds a year, which is applied to general purposes, the episcopal income being supplied by a separate endowment fund. Of churches there were in the diocese of Adelaide in 1847 only five, viz., Holy Trinity and St. John's in the city, St. Paul's at Port Adelaide, St. James' at Blakiston, near Mount Barker, and St. George's, Gawler.

Two days after his landing the bishop was formally installed in Holy Trinity Church, which served as the pro-cathedral. After morning prayer, the episcopal letters patent, &c., were read, and at the Celebration the nine diocesan clergy, with the Governor and about fifty others of the laity, communicated. The bishop chose for his first text in his diocese—"Then are they glad because they are at rest; and so He bringeth them unto the haven where they would be." (Ps. cvii. 30.) For the first month the episcopal party remained as guests at Government-house, after which the bishop writes: "My present episcopal residence is a cottage of six small rooms at Kensington, two miles from Adelaide. A house in town was not to be obtained. One in the country was offered at a rent of two hundred and fifty pounds per annum, but my friends wisely declined it, the income of the see not justifying any such outlay. I am looking out for a building site in or adjoining the town, which it will be wise to

secure as property is rising continually in value." Of the religious outlook and the colony generally he says : " There is a widespread desire in the colony for the public means of grace and sound education. We must endeavour heartily to satisfy this desire, and I must say to find myself on Sunday last preaching to full congregations in two nice churches, capable together of containing one thousand three hundred people, in a spot which was a wilderness ten years ago is equally astonishing and cheering. . . We find civility and intelligence the characteristics of the population to more than an average degree. A more thoroughly English colony does not probably exist. All we want is additional labour. The wages of one day will purchase one-and-a-half bushels of wheat, an amount equal to six days' labour in England. The finest wheat in the world is now selling for two shillings and sixpence per bushel, while the wages of a day labourer are three shillings and sixpence; mechanics, seven shillings. Fat cattle are sold at from two pounds ten shillings to three pounds, and sheep are likely soon to be boiled down by the thousand merely for the tallow. Legs of mutton are selling at Gawler-town for sixpence a piece, prime meat. In short, the means of subsistence are abundant, and emigrants by the thousand might be fed and employed most profitably, whereas at present such is the scarcity of labour that agriculture is at a standstill and improvements out of the question. The labourer grows rich and the capitalist makes no return. Under these circumstances the difficulty of raising money for building schools and churches is great and the annual support of the clergy while they are being built is greater. We must, therefore, endeavour to secure an endowment fund." Evidently the bishop had with a keen insight very speedily grasped the

conditions of life among which his labours had to be carried on.

The first Confirmation in the diocese of Adelaide took place in Holy Trinity Church in the city in the March of 1848, when sixty-eight candidates were presented, and in the June following on the anniversary of his consecration—St. Peter's Day—the bishop held his first ordination, when Messrs. John Fulford and E. K. Miller—the last-named still labours in the diocese—were admitted to the diaconate and the Rev. W. H. Coombs to the priesthood. About this time there is a statement in an episcopal report to England which tells its own tale of an energetic first six months of diocesan duty: "I am going to Willunga to lay the first stone of the church in that place, and from thence to Mount Barker to consecrate the church of St. James, Blakiston, and to confirm a few candidates in that district. I shall then have visited the greater part of the settled districts of the province, about ninety miles north of Adelaide to thirty miles south, and fifty miles to the eastward of the coast across the Mount Lofty and Barossa Ranges." Ten churches were consecrated in these journeyings, seven of which had been built since the bishop's arrival. The 'settled districts' of the then twelve years' old colony have extended, in this—1887—colonial year of jubilee, to over four hundred miles northward and right eastward to the borders of the colony of Victoria, nearly three hundred miles.

After having passed through one colony of his diocese, the bishop at once started to examine the other huge tract of territory which had been placed under his care, and before the end of 1848 he was carrying on a visitation tour in Western Australia, riding and driving throughout the sparsely populated country for forty days. Archdeacon

Hale, who subsequently became chief pastor of the western colony of Australia, accompanied the bishop, and the voyage was taken in the Government schooner *Champion*, of only one hundred tons burden. From the lengthy accounts of the visitation forwarded to the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a realistic idea is obtained both of the nature of the country and the religious and social life of the inhabitants: "We ran into King George's Sound," writes the bishop, "after a quick and boisterous passage, on Sunday, October 22nd, about midnight. The morning displayed to us the fine land-locked harbour and the little settlement of Albany scattered on the slopes of Mounts Clarence and Melville, each rising more than six hundred feet above the water with bare granite boulders and detached masses of the same rock appearing through the low scrub which covers their sides. The stone church stands about the centre, forming a striking object, and whenever the tower shall be finished will give additional beauty to the scene, but even as it is the house of God is—as it always should be—the principal building which meets the eye as you cast anchor in the Sound. Lonely and wild as are these shores, still the grey granite walls and pointed windows of the church imparted a feeling of home even in this distant nook, so sequestered from the other settled parts of Australia.

"The Rev. John Wollaston and the Government Resident, Mr. Camfield, came on board early in the morning—the former having removed from Bunbury agreeably to the permission of the local Government. By great exertions the church had been so far finished as to admit of consecration on Wednesday, October 25. The dimensions are fifty feet long, twenty-six feet wide,

eighteen feet high, and an open wooden roof with dark red casuarina shingles makes it appear light and airy. The glass for the windows is ordered in England. It is calculated to hold one hundred and seventy persons, about the number actually resident in the settlement, and more than half of these were present in church, together with the captains of two American whalers then in the harbour. The collection—after my sermon from Psalm lxxxiv. 3 and 4, ‘Yea the sparrow,’ &c.—amounted to fourteen pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence, a considerable sum for this little place, the trade of which consists principally of supplies for the whaling ships, a few bales of wool, and a few tuns of oil. Notice of Confirmation was given for Friday, and of the Holy Communion for the Sunday following. On the former day twenty-four candidates presented themselves, fourteen females and ten males, among the latter a sergeant and two soldiers of the 96th Regiment. I doubt whether the rite was ever ministered to a more devout and earnest body of persons. In the course of morning prayer, I baptised three children, two of them half-castes, who are being brought up in the nurture of the Lord by the disinterested kindness of persons unconnected with them except by the ties of Christian love. It is wonderful and consolatory to find in a place where for eighteen years there has been no resident minister so earnest a desire for the ordinances of divine service. I addressed the candidates both before and after the Confirmation, from St. John iii. 33, and Acts xiv. 22. In the afternoon the burial ground, a mile from the town, was consecrated in the presence of the Resident and a few other friends. It is inconveniently distant, but the position was fixed agreeably to a local Government ordinance. On Sunday thirty-three out of a congregation

of one hundred remained to receive the Lord's Supper, all but one of the candidates for Confirmation being of the number.

"We were to have embarked on Monday morning had the wind been favourable, but it blew a gale from the westward, which gave me another day for visiting the inhabitants and an opportunity to them for testifying their satisfaction at the visit of their bishop. An affectionate address signed, I understand, by everybody young and old in the place who could write was presented to me at the Custom-house. They followed me in fact with 'wives and children' to the shore, and I exhorted them to 'continue steadfast in the faith' which worketh by love. On the following morning we were summoned on board, the wind having become favourable, and soon after beat out of the harbour, leaving with regret the sequestered place endeared to us by a thousand traits of Christian truth, simplicity, kindness, love unfeigned, and earnestness in the faith. May the blessing of God rest on them for ever. All sectarian feeling was thrown aside, and within the walls of our Zion were seen sitting together with members of the Church of England—Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and Roman Catholics; English, Scotch, Irish, and American worshipping together with brotherly love.

"On Wednesday we doubled Cape Leuwin, and next day landed at the Vasse, where I confirmed ten candidates and consecrated the church and churchyard of St. Mary, Busselton. Then I rode thirty miles to Bunbury, which we reached before nine o'clock at night, after fording a broad estuary and riding through the interminable forest. G. Eliot, Esq., kindly entertained the archdeacon and myself. On Sunday, November 5, I confirmed eleven candidates and preached to a very full congregation, considering the

distances from which the people assembled. The services are held in a neat wooden building lent for the purpose. In the afternoon I again had the opportunity of exhorting the people 'not to forsake the assembling of themselves together,' although they are without a shepherd, Mr. Wollaston having gone to the Sound. The Monday was spent in visiting Picton, where there is a small pretty church, situated on the margin of the estuary. Landing at the town of Fremantle under a salute from the *Champion*, I was received by R. Brown, Esq., the Government Resident, and other gentlemen. Soon afterwards the Governor's private secretary, Mr. R. H. Bland, arrived from Perth to welcome me on behalf of His Excellency. The following morning the Rev. J. B. Wittenoom, colonial chaplain, came to pay his respects. I found that the health of the local clergyman, Mr. King, has improved since he gave up visiting Mandurah and Pinjarrah, about fifty miles to the south of Fremantle. He was not equal to such a ride monthly together with his other duties. His ministry has, I believe, been much blessed in many instances, and the number of his candidates for Confirmation, their mature age, and general demeanour during the rite, bear witness to his exertions. Out of a total population in the town of three hundred and forty-eight souls, forty-five had been prepared by him, and of these thirty-nine were confirmed, the others being unavoidably absent. I was grieved to find a heavy debt still upon the church, the interest of which absorbs the whole of the pew rents collected. Contracted upon the responsibility of several parties, death and misfortune have thrown the liabilities on one or two survivors, whose zeal for the Church would ill deserve the heavy loss involved in a debt of five hundred and sixty pounds. The low

price of wool and stock put it quite out of the means of the inhabitants and settlers in general to assist in relieving the responsible parties. The church at Perth is also burthened to the extent of one thousand and thirteen pounds. No assistance therefore can be derived from thence, as there, also, the amount of pew rents is absorbed by the payment of interest on borrowed money. The colonial Government makes an annual grant, to both churches, and I hope by aiding private subscriptions with some of the grant placed at my disposal for Western Australia by the venerable Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to lessen the debt in each case so as to obtain a surplus of pew rents, which may be applied to the payment of capital as well as interest. I have obtained from the trustees of the church property a declaration of trust that after the liquidation of the debt the pew rents shall form a stipend for the clergyman. Were it not for the four Government stipends of one hundred pounds per annum each, together with the assistance granted to Messrs. Mitchell and Postlethwaite by the Colonial Church Society, and to Mr. King by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I am persuaded that the six clergymen now in this colony would be reduced to a state of very great poverty, through the very moderate means now possessed by the settlers in general. At Fremantle the pew rents scarcely reach fifty pounds. The power is more wanting than the will; there are not the same sources of wealth which we have in South Australia. The whole population, by the census just taken, amounts to four thousand six hundred, of which above three thousand seven hundred declare themselves to belong to the Church of England. The whole number of Roman Catholics is three hundred and six, yet a bishop and ten

priests, with lay brothers and four sisters of mercy were sent out to take care of this little flock. Some of the Roman clergy, however, have since withdrawn on finding their services less needed than was supposed. Two who were at King George's Sound, where there is but one Roman Catholic family, have left it after trying for a few months to instruct the natives in the bush. To return to the state of Church matters at Fremantle: Mr. King of course awaits the reply of the Society to his application for removal. I shall much regret his departure, but in case he is removed I would implore the Society not to withdraw their help from this colony, which is now in a state of depression from many and various causes. I would even plead for a small annual stipend for an arch-deacon, whose visitation expenses would be covered by fifty pounds per annum, with a passage allowed by the Government in the colonial schooner. Such an appointment is absolutely necessary, and I believe I shall feel it my duty to call to that office the Rev. J. R. Wollaston of Perth if I can secure the means of meeting the necessary expenses of his visitation. He is respected and beloved by all classes; one who by his mild affectionate faithfulness wins the regard of all under his ministry. I purpose administering the Holy Communion to-morrow — November 19 — at this place to those who were confirmed on Thursday, and have continued here expressly for that purpose. On Monday I proceed to the Upper Swan, proposing to consecrate the church there and confirm on Tuesday morning; in the afternoon to hold the like services at the Middle Swan; on the following day to be at Guildford for the same purpose, and to return to Perth for the Confirmation on Friday, November 24; after which the York and Toodyay

districts to the eastward and Pinjarrah to the south will remain to be visited.

“The communication between Fremantle and Perth is principally by boat. There is a road, with a ferry, by which you may ride, but the sandy soil renders the passage by water easier. The land breeze in the morning enables the boats to sail down from Perth, and the sea breeze, which sets in at about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, wafts them back in less than two hours. Fremantle stands on the south side of the entrance to Swan River, on a small peninsula formed by the north and south bays, with a projecting headland of limestone rock facing to seaward and the roadstead. Looking westward from it, Rottenest and Garden Islands, with detached rocks about ten miles distant, in some measure shelter the anchorage. The town itself is built of limestone, and consists of regular streets and some good two-storey stuccoed houses; but building is at present suspended. Setting sail for Perth, I noted how picturesquely the reaches of the river sometimes open into a broad estuary with wooded banks and rocky cliffs; and the approach to the capital city is beautiful, Mount Eliza on the left forming a bay, along the sloping shore of which the town is built. I was received at the jetty by the trustees of the church and other gentlemen, from whom on the following morning—Thursday, November 9—I received a cordial address. The state of the church debt was then discussed, and a proposal liberally responded to by some parties, so I trust that it may be reduced by about one-third before I leave for Adelaide. In the afternoon, it being the Prince of Wales' birthday, Mrs. Fitzgerald—wife of the Government Resident—gave a little fête to the girls' school in the garden of the Government-house. She takes a lively interest in education, and personally

instructs a class in the Sunday school, setting thereby a very valuable example. Forty children were assembled, and were pleasing specimens of the youth of the colony. On Friday, after morning prayer, I inspected the church of St. George, which is a large oblong building of the modern style, with square windows, and, though very capacious, is devoid of ornament and beauty. It is unfinished in many respects, and will probably continue so until the debt is liquidated. On Sunday the congregations were large. I preached twice, and at the Governor's request fixed Wednesday for the consecration in order that he might be present before sailing for King George's Sound. The conveyance, and assignment of pew rents to the minister, having been prepared, I accordingly consecrated the church and also the portion of the general cemetery assigned for the Church of England. The collections exceeded thirty-six pounds. On the following morning I returned to Fremantle. To-day—Saturday, 18th—I have been inspecting the Government school of thirty-nine children, which is efficiently kept by Mr. and Mrs. Owen. There is much want of school books, Bibles, and writing materials, but the children were intelligent, and read and answered questions well. The teachers' salary is inadequate. On Sunday, 19th, the Holy Communion was administered to twenty-three communicants, many of them from those confirmed on the previous Thursday. At the afternoon service five more candidates for Confirmation presented themselves, and Archdeacon Hale afterwards preached to a very attentive and numerous congregation, from Acts xiv. 22. The next morning we left Fremantle by boat for Perth and the Upper Swan district, sleeping at the residence of G. Moon, Esq., the advocate-general, about eighteen miles east of Perth. We rode on the

following morning to the Upper Swan church, which is finely placed on a commanding brow above the valley of the river, with a fine view of the Darling Range. The building is small but neat and in tolerable repair. The clergyman in charge, Rev. Mr. Postlethwaite, read the prayers, and having consecrated the church I confirmed fourteen candidates. After the burial ground had been solemnly set apart as a cemetery of the Church of England, we rode to Colonel Irwin's and through his fine property, Henley Park, to the Middle Swan church. It was completely filled, about eighty of the settlers having assembled for service, though it was the midst of the hay harvest. Twenty candidates were confirmed, and the sun was setting with the clear soft glow of this beautiful climate as the congregation slowly separated for their several locations. I slept at the house of the Rev. W. Mitchell, the excellent pastor appointed to this district by the Colonial Church Society: simple, faithful, laborious, self-denying, learned in Eastern languages, he continues his unobtrusive labours without enjoying any of those little comforts which his age and services would seem to demand. His parsonage is not better than the house of an English labourer. The church and churchyard at Guildford remained to be consecrated. It is a township situated on the banks of the River Swan, which runs at the bottom of some of the town sections. The service commenced at eleven a.m., and seventeen candidates were confirmed, making a total of fifty-one confirmees in the thinly-populated district of the middle and upper Swan—from congregations at the three churches of about two hundred and twenty souls. After paying pastoral visits to some of the settlers, I mounted my horse and reached Perth about sunset. After resting for a day, I resumed my episcopal duties by

holding the Confirmation for the capital of the colony. The large church was well filled, and the list of candidates reached one hundred and sixteen, a far larger number than came forward at Adelaide. Many of course were married persons, some of them middle aged, and it was cheering to see how gladly this ordinance of the Church was received. Perth is a delightful residence, on the estuary of the Swan River, but surrounded by a sandy forest which is very unproductive. Gardens and vineyards do well on the sloping side of the hill on which the town is placed. Could the members of the venerable Society see the great good effected by the aid in books and money given to the colonial churches, or could the members of the Church of England generally picture to themselves the happiness they would diffuse among the scattered settlers of the colonies by aiding them to procure the public means of grace, I am persuaded that every single pound subscribed to your Society or to the great Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge would be increased tenfold, and sums now wasted in vanity or frivolity would be devoted to the glory of God in the support of His Church, the comfort of the suffering and poor members of the Body of Christ, and the extension of His kingdom among the surrounding heathen. After confirming at Perth I left the town on Monday, November 27, for York. The road lies over the ironstone and granite ranges, covered with mahogany forest for sixty miles. Sleeping at Mahogany Creek I witnessed at night the magnificence of a bush fire running through the forest, burning the dry scrub and preparing the ground for a fresh and greener growth. York is a township in the upper part of the valley of the Avon, where the land and scenery are equally fine. The river spreads into long reaches and pools, and wherever cultivation had been

carried on efficiently, fine crops of grain and noble vineyards reward the labours of the settler. This district is under the charge of the Rev. W. Mears. On Wednesday the church was filled. I consecrated it and confirmed twenty-nine persons. Leaving York on November 30, I rode thirty miles down the valley of the Avon through a beautiful country and well watered. The following Friday and Sunday I held confirmations at Mr. Harper's house, where fifteen candidates presented themselves; I also baptised one adult and administered the Holy Communion to twenty-seven persons. On the latter afternoon I rode to Mr. Drummond's at Toodyay and preached to about eighty people and baptised three children. It is gratifying and yet painful to see the eagerness with which the visits of a missionary are welcomed by the settlers. Making a circuit to the North, I returned by the Middle Swan and held a Confirmation, when thirty more received the ordinance, attention having been much awakened by the first administration of it. I adopted the same course at Perth, and found thirty-five additional candidates ready on the following Sunday, making a total of one hundred and fifty-one confirmed in that town. Proceeding on the Monday to Fremantle, I started on the following morning for Mandurah, the residence of Mr. Peel, the original founder of the colony. There are only twenty-five inhabitants, of whom twenty-three were in church, and three of these were confirmed. On Wednesday I rode fifteen miles to Pinjarrah and held service at three p.m., when five children were baptised, fifteen persons confirmed, and twelve communicated, the entire congregation numbering above seventy. For nine months—since Mr. King's illness—they have been as sheep without a shepherd. On the following day I once more reached Perth, after a ride of

fifty-three miles, in the course of which I violently sprained my knee through a fallen branch while riding in the forest. It is now better, and happily the accident did not occur until I had been enabled, through mercy, to complete my visitation. I have since been staying in Perth and setting in order various ecclesiastical matters. In the evening of Christmas Day I preached my farewell sermon to a crowded church, and to-day I have been taking leave of His Excellency, who has shown me all kindness and civility. In his late expedition to the northward he had a narrow escape, his party of seven having been surrounded by a tribe of natives, and himself speared. Their retreat was not secured without loss of life on the part of the assailants. I am assured that my visit has been productive of good in many ways to the settlers in general, and the members of our own Church in particular, and also in regard to education matters and the native tribes. The colonial Government have liberally allowed my visitation expenses. I feel a great interest in the concerns and prospects of this colony. It has much to contend against, but there are some excellent people among the settlers, for whom I have contracted a warm regard and whom I shall wish to revisit at the earliest possible opportunity."

The bishop got back to Adelaide by the middle of January 1849. The sincerity of his desire to foster the spiritual well-being of the western part of his diocese was manifested by the fact that so soon as 1852 he, despite the difficulties and hardships of those early days of colonial travelling, made a second visitation there. Of the second trip one of the most noteworthy features was a service for three hundred convicts—Western Australia having, not long after its original foundation, become a penal settlement.

In summarising his tour the bishop says: "Much satisfaction was evinced at my coming, and every exertion made to meet its object. I was cordially welcomed everywhere, confirmed nearly one hundred persons at various places, and am certainly impressed with the attachment shown to the Church by the people generally, and that, too, under discouragement from the very inadequate supply of clergy and the ordinances of religion. This want I hope, with the aid of the Government, will be speedily supplied. The large number of ticket-of-leave men renders increased means of religious worship absolutely necessary, if the reformatory prison discipline of England is not to lose its effect. So far, in Swan River, the experiment is considered successful; but it is too evident, in many cases, that while the exterior demeanour has been altered the work of grace is not sure. The old man is not 'crucified;' the 'new man' not put on. Indeed, it is a mistake of politicians to imagine that regulations, and prison discipline, and moral teaching will take effect, as it were, *ex opere operato*. But let us never forget that it is not by the power or might of man, 'but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts,' that the wicked man shall 'forsake his way,' and the 'unrighteous man his thoughts.' At dark we embarked for the Swan River settlement, which we only reached after a boisterous passage. God grant that He may do that which is impossible with man, and turn many to righteousness. The archdeacon at Albany has arranged for the commencement of a native school, and Governor Fitzgerald has promised to aid him with money for the purpose." The deporting of prisoners to Western Australia has long since ceased, and just now—1887—the Imperial authorities have sanctioned the introduction of responsible government into the colony, thereby securing to the settlement—last, in point of time,

of all the Australian group—free representative institutions.

A unique incident marked the year 1849. The Roman bishop at Adelaide issued a pastoral letter asking alms to aid in the deliverance of the Pope from his imprisonment, and in this epistle styled himself 'Catholic bishop of Adelaide.' In reply to this assumption Bishop Short promptly put forth a protest 'against any act and every act of episcopal authority, done or to be done by any person whatever, by virtue of any right or title derived from the assumed claim of the bishop of Rome to ecclesiastical sovereignty.'

But if the bishop was acute to claim his ecclesiastical status he had to do so unaided by State support in the matter. In considering the work of the Church in South Australia it must always be remembered that the colony was avowedly founded in opposition to the principle of a State Church. In the early days of settlement some assistance was given by the Government to all the recognised religious bodies. Governor Gawler, in 1841—within five years of the colony's proclamation—submitted to Lord John Russell a scheme to 'make provision for the religious destitution' by selling some of the public lands at the almost nominal price of five shillings per acre to trustees; but the plan never came to a practical issue. A few years later the nominee Legislative Council considered a proposition which contemplated subsidising the various religious denominations by means of a capitation grant of two shillings per head of the population, but the proposal encountered strong popular opposition, and an amendment, declaring that none of the public funds were to be devoted to the maintenance of religion, was carried in the Council. In this connection it is at least appropriate

to quote a striking extract from the third triennial visitation charge of the bishop—Broughton—of Australia in 1844:—"It is my duty in this public manner, and on this solemn occasion, to represent some circumstances almost peculiar, so far as I know, to these latter ages, and in a more extended degree, perhaps, to this country than to any other upon earth. I allude to that disposition arising—I would persuade myself—not so much from selfishness as from forgetfulness or want of better information, which has led so many men, the professed friends of religion and members of the Church, to believe that they may lawfully and blamelessly appropriate the entire possession of the soil of the territory to the use and benefit of themselves and their descendants without bestowing a thought upon the means by which provision should be made for the perpetual support of the Christian faith. It is, I believe, an example almost without a precedent of so much as a century's standing." To rightly estimate the bearing of this Athanasian-like language, it should be noted that Bishop Broughton is not here necessarily contending for an established religion in the State; he is merely bringing into prominence the historical fact that men have in every age recognised that, as the land is God's gift, part of it should be dedicated to promoting the knowledge and worship of Him from Whose creative hand it has been received. The South Australian Government, however, did, early in the year 1847, vote a religious grant of five hundred pounds to be available for distribution for a period covering four years. So matters stood when the bishop arrived, and the final settlement of the question did not take place until by the expiry of the time limited for the appropriation of the five hundred pounds vote the whole matter was re-opened. Yet in 1848 the Legis-

lative Council awarded a cordial vote of thanks to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts for her munificence in founding the diocese, and directed that the resolution should be handsomely engrossed and forwarded to England. In the first *Government Gazette* of the same year, too, appears the following official recognition of the bishop's appointment:

Colonial Secretary's Office,

Adelaide, January 5, 1848.

The Queen having been graciously pleased to erect into a separate see and diocese so much of the bishopric of Australia as is included within the limits of the provinces of South Australia and Western Australia, and to appoint thereto the Reverend Augustus Short, D.D., under the style and title of 'The Lord Bishop of Adelaide,' His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor has directed the publication of Her Majesty's letters patent to that effect, together with the notarial attestation of his lordship's consecration, for general information.

By His Excellency's command,

A. M. MUNDY,

Colonial Secretary.

The documents referred to are duly subjoined in full to this announcement. When, in 1851, a popular election took place under the new Constitution granted to the colony, the State-aid to religion question became one of the hustings cries, and the voice of the constituencies was so clear that on July 11 the bishop writes: "The elections are so far over as to have settled the State grant: that is gone: all religious parties are now left to the voluntary principle." In a letter of three months later date he says: "The Church grant is settled and lost without even the opportunity of proper discussion, for they would not let it go into committee."

But in this, as in all other instances, opposition seemed only to rouse the strongly combative spirit of the bishop, and, without repining, he set to work to overcome the new

difficulty which had come across his path. Help was asked for from England by the subjoined circular, which fulfils the office of a progress report on the diocese up to the time the application for assistance was made:—"The peculiar circumstances in which the Church of England in South Australia is placed render it necessary for the bishop of Adelaide to bring the subject under the notice of the Church at home, and of all those who take an interest in the spiritual welfare of that new colony. When new constitutions were granted to the Australian colonies—in 1850—in framing those of New South Wales and Victoria, aid was secured from the colonial revenues towards the support of clergy in connection with the various bodies of Christians. In Western Australia the like assistance is afforded by the local Government. No such provision was introduced into the constitution of South Australia; and in 1851 the vote for the maintenance of Christian worship, which had been passed in 1848 for three years, was discontinued by a vote of the majority in the Legislative Council. By this act South Australia became the only one of all the colonies belonging to the British Crown in which no public funds are assigned for the support of Christian ordinances. In this respect the diocese of Adelaide—as regards that portion of it which is comprised in South Australia—stands alone. The maintenance of its clergy, and all religious ordinances, rests entirely on the voluntary principle. The clergy, consequently, destitute both of parochial endowment and public aid, are placed in a position of anxious dependence, calculated at once to foster a secular spirit, and to discourage pastoral faithfulness. The laity, on the other hand, in addition to the difficulties, risks, and losses incident to settling in a new country, are compelled not only to provide for their clergy, but to build churches,

schools, and parsonages, or forego the blessings of Christian worship and the advantages of a liberal education. Anxious, indeed, and willing they are to contribute for these objects, but their means are not adequate to the purpose. Instead of inheriting the religious privileges of the Church at home, years, perhaps, elapse before the successful settler is enabled to dedicate the 'first fruits of his increase' to the service of God. The difficulty caused by the withdrawal of the Government grant may be estimated from the following facts:—In the twelve months commencing April 1850, the clergy of the Church of England received, in various proportions, the sum of eight hundred and fifty pounds; while in that, and the preceding three years, four thousand five hundred and fifty pounds was added by the local Government to private subscriptions for the purpose of erecting seventeen churches, ten parsonages, and a large national schoolroom in Adelaide. This aid has now been wholly withdrawn, and the members of the Church of England, therefore, are constrained to appeal for assistance to their brethren and fellow Christians in England. At the present time—through the aid of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the subscriptions placed in the hands of the bishop on his appointment—eighteen clergymen are officiating in twenty-two churches in various parts of the colony, while Archdeacon Hale has undertaken the personal management and instruction of the native converts and children in the Mission at Poonindie, Port Lincoln. Since 1847 the number of churches has been increased from five to twenty-two, and of clergy from five to eighteen; but of the latter seven more are now required, five as resident ministers among the increasingly numerous settlers at Salisbury, Kapunda, Port Elliot—the seaport of the

River Murray—Hindmarsh, Bowden, Thebarton, Brighton, Norwood, and Yankalilla, and two as missionary clergy to itinerate through the scattered stations in the south-eastern territory of the colony, between the Murray and the Glenelg, and those on the north, from the Broughton to Mounts Remarkable and Arden. These latter districts have hitherto remained without the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, or pastoral superintendence. With the view, however, of extending the means of grace to these districts, as well as assisting the stipends of the rural clergy, a Pastoral Aid Fund has been set on foot in the colony, with the general concurrence of the laity, many of whom not only contribute liberally of their means, but also assist the clergy as lay readers, supplying services in many places without any remuneration. But both the number and means of contributors are unequal to provide for the spiritual destitution above mentioned. Whatever may be the eventual effect of the gold-fields of Victoria, at present they have enormously raised the price of every article of subsistence in South Australia, and have chiefly enriched the working classes. The clergy, and all dependent on income, are relatively poorer than before the discovery. The wages of labour are excessive; injurious alike to the agriculturist and the employer of journeymen mechanics. Not only is the difficulty of maintaining a family increased, but education, though offered on moderate terms at the Collegiate School of St. Peter, Adelaide—established shortly after the arrival of the bishop—is beyond the means of the clergy in general, and of many respectable settlers in the country, for whose children it was designed, with the hope of eventually rearing a colonial ministry. If the Collegiate School buildings and establishment could be completed, it would enable the

governors to reduce the cost of education, and would thus materially improve the prospects of the clergy. There is, further, great want of church accommodation—churches are immediately needed at Salisbury and Kapunda; at Port Elliot, Brighton, Thebarton, Bowden, Norwood, and Yankalilla churches are in course of erection through the zeal of the inhabitants; and a central church in South Adelaide, which might serve for the cathedral church, is pressing required, to accommodate a large body of resident members of our communion—for whom there is no room in the existing churches—as well as the numerous emigrants who sojourn in Adelaide on their arrival.* For these objects, then—namely, to enable the bishop to provide passage money and outfits, and to guarantee to zealous young clergymen, who are willing to devote themselves to this missionary work, a certain moderate provision until they can form, and be supported by, their congregations; to complete the Collegiate School; and to commence the cathedral church; the bishop in behalf of his diocese appeals for assistance to the members of the Mother Church. In so doing, however, he is desirous of stating that great liberality has been shown by churchmen in South Australia. They have raised among themselves—with trifling exception—and expended eleven thousand pounds upon the three churches in North and South Adelaide; they have supplied two-thirds of the cost of nineteen others in different parts of the colony, and of ten parsonages; they have contributed above six thousand pounds towards the building and establishment of the Collegiate School—forming a total of contributions to the amount of nearly twenty-eight thousand pounds. They

* The population of the colony by immigration and increase has risen from 30,000 in 1847, to above 70,000 in 1852, and is still increasing in the same ratio.

are at present raising additional funds towards its completion, besides forming a Pastoral Aid Fund for the clergy, and very recently William Allen, Esq., has made donation of one thousand pounds towards the erection of the cathedral church. It is, however, beyond the ability of the first generation of settlers to keep pace with the religious and educational requirements of a colony so rapid in its growth as South Australia. To go without them is to retrograde in the scale of Christian civilization. They ask, therefore, the aid of their brethren at home, in order to procure the enjoyment of these blessings. Deprived as they are of all assistance from the State, they nevertheless trust, by the blessing of God, and the co-operation of Christian friends, to sustain and extend the ministrations and teachings of the Church of England in that part of the diocese of Adelaide which is comprised in South Australia among her own members who are placed in the midst of numerous and conflicting Christian denominations."

The bishop's action within his diocese, in the new emergency, took the form of a letter addressed to the committee of the Church Society in which it was suggested that a sub-committee of five laymen should be appointed to consult 'upon the best means of developing the resources of our communion for the support of its ministers and to report upon the best mode of enlisting the sympathies of the great body of the lay members of the Church in this most Christian and necessary work.' The suggestion having been adopted, the sub-committee recommended that a constitution should be framed for the diocese comprising the bishop, a synod of clergy, and a convention of laity, forming together a general diocesan assembly. The committee urged that 'a more effective organisation is needed

to give energy to the discipline of the Church; and the laity must assume their proper functions as well as largely extend the bounds of their liberality.' It was a crisis time in the history of the diocese, and well might the bishop just then write: "The trials of a colonial life and of a voluntary Church have a very realising effect upon one's faith."



CHAPTER VI.

THE CHURCH AND THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES.

THE native tribes of Australia are generally admitted to belong to a low type of the Ethiopic family. Some ethnologists have thought that these tribes sprang from Malay ancestors who had originally passed over in their canoes from the Indian Archipelago across Torres Straits to the island continent, but the better received opinion of later times is that the progenitors of the Australian 'blackfellow' were Papuans, who came from their island home in the contiguous New Guinea land to the still vaster insular country of Australia. Physically as well as mentally the Australian aborigines are of a very inferior order, being usually below the average height of the Caucasian and with loosely-jointed and ill-developed frames. Mr. David Blair in his *History of Australia* accurately describes them: "The forehead low, the eyes large, far apart, and half covered by the upper lid, the iris being invariably of a deep brown, the pupil large and of a jet black; the nose broad and flat with widespread nostrils; the cheeks hollow, the mouth wide, with thick lips and large white teeth, the lower jaw being unusually short and widely expanded anteriorly." In their habits of life they proclaim themselves as belonging to the most primitive class of the human family: no fixed dwellings, but rough-made 'wurleys,' which are little more than break-winds made from the branches of trees: never forming themselves into permanent villages but temporarily

camping upon the courses of the rivers or creeks so that they may be within reach of water during the parching Australian summer, and also because the wild game upon which they principally subsist are most plentifully found in the locality of the watercourses. They have no historical traditions, and nothing more nearly approaching religious belief than a few irrational superstitions. For example, Mr. Blair tells us of them: "The Australians recognise a benignant god and a variety of evil spirits, especially one in the form of a gigantic serpent. When the winds groan over the hills and woods, they imagine it to be the voice of this monster, and illuminate the plain with fires, repeating magic spells to scare the evil one away. Notwithstanding this timidity they are brave in battle, though trembling in the presence of death. . . . They regard the white men as their former brethren, whose spirits, purified after death, have passed into superior forms. At Perth one of the colonists was twice visited by a strange native, who had heard that there had come to his land a lost brother. The savage travelled through a long extent of hostile country to behold again a cherished friend blessed with the glory of a second life, who had left his paradise beyond the sea to revisit the scene of his earthly career!"

One of their most remarkable practices is what is known as the *corobboree*, a sort of weird war dance, of which a traveller in Australia has given a graphic description: * "The celebration invariably takes place at night time, and by the light of huge blazing fires kindled in some open space. . . . In the dusky distance sat a crowd of indistinct figures, while on one side of the fire squatted a party of *ginns*—that is, native women—who,

* Blair's *Australia*, p. 239.

after some preparation, commenced drumming upon a skin tightly stretched over their knees, assisting the dull cadence with a monotonous song, or rather scream. This had continued a few minutes, gradually increasing in loudness and energy, when the men, uttering a wild howl, sprang upon their feet and began the dance. They were all naked, or nearly so, and painted from top to toe in fantastic fashion, the pattern most in vogue being an imitation of a skeleton, contrived by chalking out the position of the spine and ribs with a white pigment. Their legs were uniformly striped downwards with broad white lines. The first performance was a war dance, wherein a variety of complicated evolutions and savage antics were gone through, accompanied by a brandishing of clubs, spears, *boomerangs*, and shields. Suddenly the crowd divided into two parties, and after a chorus of deafening yells and fierce exhortations, as if for the purpose of adding to their own and each other's excitement, they rushed together in close fight. One division, shortly giving way, was driven from the field and pursued into the dark wood, where roars and groans, and the sound of blows, left but little to be imagined on the score of a bloody massacre. Presently the whole corps reappeared close to the fire, and having deployed into lines and proved distance—as it is called in sword exercise—the time of the music was changed, and a slow measure was commenced by the dancers, every step being enforced by a heavy stamp, and a noise like a paviour's grunt. As the drum waxed faster, so did the dance, until at length the movements were as rapid as the human frame could possibly endure. At some passages they all sprang into the air a wonderful height, and as their feet again touched the ground, with their legs wide astride, the muscles of the

thighs were set a-quivering in a singular manner, and the straight white lines on the limbs being thus put in oscillation, each stripe for the moment became a writhing serpent, while the air was filled with loud hissings. This particular *tour de force*, which had a singular effect in the fire light, requires great practice. I remarked that the front-rank men only were adepts at it, and I was told that some could never acquire it—as sundry of my countrymen can never unravel with their feet the mysteries of the waltz and polka. The most amusing part of the ceremony was the imitation of the dingo, kangaroo, and emu. When all were springing together in emulation of a scared troop of their own marsupial brutes, nothing could be more laughable, nor a more ingenious piece of mimicry. As usual in savage dances, the time was kept with an accuracy never at fault.” But the *coroboree* does not always include the actual sanguinary conflict which this traveller witnessed, being often simply a means of recreation, or indulged in merely as a show sight for the ‘white man’ onlookers. Yet primitive barbarian as he is, the Australian aborigine frequently has a fair measure of quick-witted intelligence, is not difficult to instruct in simple things, and not seldom displays when partially reclaimed a generous susceptibility to kindness and a strong spirit of fidelity. But, truth to tell, he is incorrigibly lazy, it being very difficult to get him to undertake any manual labour, and when he does, great exertions are put forth for a while, but the energy is speedily exhausted. It is his essentially nomadic nature, however, which makes it such a hard task to civilise him, and which, too, must be looked to as largely accountable for that rapid decay of his race which has gone on ever since the white man invaded the vast tracts of land over which the

blackfellow in former days wandered at will. Cultivation has destroyed the old happy hunting grounds, and the aborigine, unable to accommodate himself to the, to him, unnatural sedentary life of his intruding European brother, is passing away under the action of the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest.

But when Bishop Short began his work in Australia the treatment of the aborigines was an unsolved problem, and he naturally soon turned his attention to the dark-skinned denizens of his diocese. In his primary visitation of Western Australia in 1848 he inspected with interest the native school which the clergyman at Fremantle had established and in noting the fact expresses his views about the natives of the colony: "My impression generally of the aborigines of Western Australia as compared with those of South Australia is in favour of the former. Those at King George's Sound and on the western coast are superior to the Adelaide tribe physically and in point of civilisation. And so the children of this school appeared more domesticated, if I may so term it, than the children at Adelaide. In fact the native Australian has been very untruly underrated. In intelligence, good temper, and faithfulness to their engagements, they are remarkable. One called 'Wylie' accompanied Mr. Eyre in his perilous overland journey from Adelaide; another, 'Lindol,' is very expert as a whaler; some others are employed as sandalwood cutters at the Sound, and several of them who have conversed with me at this place and elsewhere appear to negative altogether the commonly received notion in England of their low position in the physical and intellectual scale. If taken at an early age and brought up with, and as, white children they would be found very little, if at all, inferior to them. A little servant girl of Mr. King's

so brought up has proved an excellent nurse, and takes the same delight in reading books as his own children. The archdeacon asked her many questions upon religion and her belief, and to him she appeared equally intelligent and well instructed. There is an instance of one married to a white settler who since her marriage has taught her husband to read, and who keeps her cottage in very neat order. An instance of the like kind came under the archdeacon's notice near Penwortham [in South Australia] and it is our firm belief that a consistent course of kind, equitable, and firm management would rescue many from barbarism and heathenism. But all persons have not the faith and love which have led this zealous missionary, Mr. King, to treat them as he would treat an orphan white child. They are counted an inferior class, sometimes defrauded of their fair wages, and then it is wondered that they prefer their native associations to being despised and wronged as a Pariah caste among whites, many of whom are below themselves in honesty, truthfulness, and self-respect. At Bunbury a farmer of the name of Scott spoke in the highest terms of a native carter who had lived with him nine years and in whom he placed such confidence as to send him with a dray and six bullocks to any part of the colony. I am the more particular in mentioning such cases in order to remove if possible a false and injurious impression. The work may be one of time, but wise and Christian management would reclaim some first fruits of this neglected race; as yet they have not received that management except in isolated instances." The bishop, after coming to this encouraging conclusion as to the prospects of aboriginal civilisation, lost no time in addressing the Governor of Western Australia on the subject:

Perth, Swan River, December 11, 1848.

Sir—Having inspected the native school at Fremantle and the institution at Wonneroo, I venture to address your Excellency upon some points essential to their efficiency and connected with the general treatment of the natives in order to their civilisation. And first I would observe that the native mind is capable of religious and moral training to a high degree. There are instances enough of success to justify very sanguine hope in making such benevolent experiments. But the co-operation to a certain extent of the Government with private endeavours seems necessary to give them full efficiency, and the support, though limited, hitherto afforded to the native institutions at least acknowledges the principle that the Government is under obligation to protect and benefit the aborigines. In the process of civilisation the first effort must be to detach the young natives from connection with native customs and influences, and the second to attach them to the habits, dress, and practices of Europeans. The former has often been attempted, the latter very seldom. The assembling together of native children in a school by themselves does not tend to weaken the force of native propensities and associations. They need to be mixed up with the white population and isolated from each other, as well as from family connexions. Taking the children at as early an age as possible they should be clothed, washed, and lodged as white children. I think they should be educated in the same school with the latter. If prejudice is still strong against amalgamation, a portion of the same room might be set apart for the native class, and cleanliness of person rigidly enforced amongst them. As they arrive at an age to be useful in service, let them be indentured to respectable people willing to feed, clothe, and lodge them as domestic servants, reserving the afternoons of every day from two to four o'clock as the hours during which they are to attend the school. It would be the duty of the Protector of Aborigines to see that the terms of the indenture were fairly carried out, and to sue the offending parties for penalties in case of default. When arrived at puberty every encouragement should be given to marriage, and every possible sanction thrown around the ceremony in order to strike at that baneful system of polygamy now practised by the natives. The Government might grant land expressly for a native location, which would be cultivated by the adult and married aborigines, under the superintendence of some trusty person, such as the present guardian of the Wesleyan native institution. In this manner, it might be hoped, a native township might be formed and the succeeding generation more completely rescued from barbarism. In the system of education adopted for the natives it seems advisable to give less of

book-learning and more of industrial occupation. Music, also, as now taught in the parish schools of England, would seem to be very attractive and civilising. In short, everything that can win the savage to prefer European habits to his own native customs should be resorted to, otherwise he remains a savage at heart with a mere outward change and soon relapses into aboriginal life. I have said nothing here of the influence of religious instruction, purposely confining my observations to the physical and moral training which comes within the sphere of civil Government. I presume the Christian instruction will be supplied by the private individuals who at present manage the various native institutions. The Government assistance hitherto rendered has been too limited to expect from it great results. Grants of good land might materially aid in rendering the existing institutions self-supporting, and also as centres of industrial instruction to the native population. The protection of the civil power must be thrown around all such settlements, to guard them from the interference of the bush natives, and the police should be directed to recover all indentured servants who without permission absent themselves from their masters. Wages proportionate to their labour ought also to be given, when their services became really of value. I have thrown together these few thoughts on the subject of native civilisation, an object dear to every Christian mind, and obligatory upon a Christian Government which has taken possession of the Australian soil and driven the native from his own hunting grounds, rendering his existence more precarious, without compensating him by the blessings of Christian civilisation.

I have the honor to remain, &c.,

AUGUSTUS ADELAIDE.

Thus an intelligent and practical scheme was submitted for the consideration of the Government of the colony in its dealing with the natives, and in a later letter the bishop suggested "a translation of the whole Decalogue, or at least the second table of the Commandments, into the native dialects as the foundation of that criminal jurisdiction which it is proposed to enforce even among the natives of the 'bush,' and which under such a sanction cannot fail to have a salutary effect."

In South Australia, also, the Church was not lacking in her care of the children of the soil. The civil authorities,

in the Imperial statute under which the colony was founded, had provided that "the poor inoffensive natives should be protected against personal outrage and violence, being left undisturbed in the possession of the soil, wherever such right should be found to exist;"* and accordingly in the early days of the settlement it was supposed that one-sixth of the land belonged to the aborigines, besides the special reserves which were appropriated to them. But whatever might have been the magnanimous theory governing the relations between the 'blacks' and the 'whites' in the colony, as a matter of fact the settlers paid but little respect to the original rights of their dark brethren, and as a consequence theft and murder by the natives, and a policy of extermination on the part of the colonists, grew to be the unhappy condition into which things drifted. In about the middle of 1849 several outrages by the blacks were reported in the Port Lincoln district, situated at the entrance to Spencer's Gulf, and some two hundred miles westward from Adelaide. A strong body of police was dispatched from the city in the Government schooner to bring the offenders to justice, and the then protector of aborigines, Mr. Moorhouse, having decided to go with the party, the bishop took advantage of the opportunity to visit the settlement, and also to personally familiarise himself with the aborigines question. Writing to the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, he thus reports his impressions: "The case generally is as follows:—A settler comes with a flock of sheep, picking out of course the best watered and most grassy valley; huts are built and out-stations formed. The kangaroo and wallaby gradually retire into the scrub far from the haunts of the white man, and the native finds

* Dutton's *South Australia*, p. 123.

his best hunting ground gradually taken from him ; while, on the other hand, sacks of flour, tobacco, sugar, and other luxuries meet his eyes and tempt his cupidity, or rather inflame his hunger. He pilfers at first, and then, watching his opportunity, comes with a party, spears the lonely shepherd, hutkeeper, white man or woman who stands between him and the object of his desire—‘ What for white-fellow take blackfellow’s country ? No good,’ says the scowling savage ; and then in some moody fit of passion spears the settler who perhaps has been treating him with kindness. But how often has the white man taken his gun and fired, from sheer cowardice and without provocation, upon the native ? Another and still more hateful method of destroying troublesome natives has been to mix arsenic—which is often kept for the purpose of cleaning scabby sheep—with the flour. The huts left unguarded offer easy entrance to the pilfering native, who dies miserably in the scrub, whither he retires to feast upon the stolen food. In the case I am now alluding to, we found the bodies of two boys, the remains of a mother and of an infant of eighteen months old, and a man, while the father of the family and another boy, after recovering from the effect of the poison, still live to tell the tale and describe the sufferings of the dead. In a sequestered grassy spot near a spring, about seven miles from the hut where the flour was taken this tragedy took place, and we saw the bottle which in her raging thirst the mother had filled and left on the edge of the waterhole, whither in agony she had rolled herself. Such is the account of the natives. It is suggested that they themselves mixed the arsenic with the flour, mistaking it for the latter, or that they died from eating flesh drugged with *nux vomica* intended to destroy the wild dog. But those who know that the native Australian has been

looked upon in the early days of every settlement in Australasia as little better than vermin to be destroyed, those who can estimate the force of fear and revenge and cruelty upon the untamed heart of the natural man, will not marvel if security has been obtained in New South Wales, or in the Tatiara country or other districts of this colony, by the means above alluded to, or others equally unscrupulous."

In the next year the Church began definitely to try to civilise and evangelise the South Australian aborigines. Archdeacon Hale had always shown a deep interest in the natives, and at length he determined to devote his personal energies and private means to the pious use of an organised effort in their behalf. He accordingly stocked the aboriginal reserve sections and the adjacent run in the neighbourhood of Port Lincoln; to which he afterwards added by purchase the Toolilee Run. With the assistance of Government grants he built the dwellings for the natives, fed, clothed, and trained them; while for their religious instruction he built and furnished the chapel, aided by private subscriptions. On leaving the colony in 1856 for the bishopric of Perth, he vested by deed of trust all the property in three trustees—the Lord Bishop of Adelaide, the Hon. S. Davenport, and Mr. John Bishop—in order to carry out his main object, viz., bringing the native inmates to the knowledge of Christ. Industrial training was employed to exercise their minds and bodies, with the intention ultimately of making the institution self-supporting as far as possible. This, however, Bishop Short always contended, was not the primary, but the secondary, consideration with the archdeacon. How far this truly noble effort of Christian philanthropy succeeded can be best gathered from the bishop's account of a visit to the Poonindie—so it was

named — Native Mission Station in the November of 1872: "This institution," writes the bishop, "having now entered on its twenty-third year of existence, and by the blessing of God producing fruit among the aborigines. 'to the glory of His grace,' it claims and justifies more extended notice than it has hitherto received from the friends of missions to the heathen, as well as the Christian public at large. It furnishes another proof—if any were wanting—of the adaptation of the Gospel to the spiritual wants of the whole human race; and of its power to raise even the feeble and least cultivated tribes to a purer and higher state of being. It has brought the nomad Australian, who lives by the chase, into the habits and rules of social Christian life. Poonindie shows a well-ordered community of more than eighty aborigines and half-castes; husbands and wives, single men, boys, girls, and infants living together in quietness, sobriety, and godliness—employed in the labours of a small sheep station, and a farm of two hundred and sixty acres under cultivation; receiving wages regularly; supplying themselves with clothes, as well as other domestic comforts; dwelling in cottages neatly kept; children sent regularly to school; and in all respects conducting themselves in a manner not unworthy of comparison with the best-ordered hamlets in Christian and civilised England.

"Twenty-two years ago a little band of aboriginal pilgrims, eleven in all—five married couples and one single man—all of whom had been originally educated in the native Government school at Adelaide, landed under the care of Archdeacon Hale on Boston Island, opposite Port Lincoln. It was intended to form a mission settlement on that beautiful and healthy spot. The ages of these young natives ranged from nineteen to twenty-five. Two of the

couples had been married by the bishop, and the others had been gathered in from the bush by the Protector of Aborigines, seconding the benevolent purpose of the archdeacon; whose desire was to save from relapsing into heathen barbarism the children who, having been taught in the Government school at Adelaide the elementary truths of the Gospel, were from time to time claimed by their wild parents, and initiated in the vile customs of aboriginal life. After a few weeks' residence in the island, deficiency in the supply of water compelled the archdeacon to remove to the banks of the River Tod, on the mainland, and form the station where the present village stands. It consists of the mission-house occupied by the superintendent, Mr. Holden, Mrs. Holden having under her special charge the single women and girls — whose dormitory and kitchen form part of the mission-house; the cottages of the married natives; the school-house and the boys' dormitory opposite the mission-house; the chapel, separated by the garden, on the same side as the latter; then the overseer's, over against whose premises are the store, kitchen, bakery, stable, cart-sheds, stock-yards, &c., &c., the whole forming a compact oblong of neat whitewashed buildings (except the chapel, which is of stone) in the midst of grassy paddocks and growing crops of hay and wheat. It is a scene on which the eye of the Christian philanthropist may rest with satisfaction and thankfulness to the Giver of all good, that He is no respecter of persons, but out of the very stones of the Australian desert has raised up children of 'faithful' Abraham.

"Several attempts having been previously made in New South Wales, Tasmania, and Victoria to civilise and convert the aborigines, after much consideration of the

measures adopted, and the methods used by the good men engaged on that work, it seemed advisable to the arch-deacon to act on somewhat different principles. Conceiving that the following ideas were substantially correct, he proceeded to carry them into practice. He held: 1st—That the young natives trained in the Adelaide school to habits of civilised life and in the elementary principles of the Gospel should not be thrown back as adults upon native life, and brought again under the influence and traditions of tribal heathenism. He proposed to himself the scheme of a Christian patriarchal household, into which the young aborigines should be introduced under a tacit covenant to obey the commands and observe the rules proper for the family life of Christians. 2nd—As a necessary consequence, it followed that they should come out from among their heathen kinsfolk and acquaintances and ‘be separate,’ until they were sufficiently attached to their new and regenerate life as voluntarily to relinquish all desire to return to nomad habits. The mission station on the western shore of Spencer’s Gulf was therefore deliberately chosen, in order to isolate the inmates from parental or tribal influences, as well as association with the local aborigines, it being the well-known rule of the latter to kill any strange native found wandering among them. 3rd—To occupy the time, exercise the mind, sustain the spirits, and develop the energy of the young people thus severed from the active employments of the chase or war in their aboriginal state, became a matter of prime importance. The duties, therefore, incident to a small sheep, cattle, and dairy station, as well as a small farm, supplied at once some means of supporting the institution and healthful practical training for its inmates; and 4th—Coincidentally with this daily inculcation

of duties to be performed and obligations to be fulfilled, was carried on elementary schooling and religious teaching suited to their capacities ; together with daily common worship every morning and evening. A run with about five thousand sheep was accordingly purchased by the archdeacon, to which was added by the Government an aboriginal reserve ; two other sections were purchased from a local fund administered by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ; a grant, also, of three hundred pounds per annum was made from the Colonial Treasury ; and with these means at his disposal the archdeacon proceeded to build up the Poonindie institution. The physical, moral, and mental condition of the first inmates trained in the Adelaide Government school was sufficiently advanced to justify very strong hopes of a successful result. Under the blessing of God the archdeacon believed that this attempt to bring into the kingdom of Christ a portion of the human family generally considered of the lowest type would not be fruitless. As yet the Australian tribes were without the idea of personal property or individual rights ; they had all things 'common,' except so far as the privileges of the 'old' men limited to themselves the choicest of their sensual enjoyments. The trained scholars, on the other hand, of the Adelaide school, who had continued steadily there, could not only read and write intelligently, but one at least was capable of reading the prayers and lessons in the chapel on Sunday mornings during the absence of the archdeacon at Port Lincoln, where he conducted the service at St. Thomas's Church, and with so much propriety did 'Conwillan' officiate that some few settlers in the neighbourhood used regularly to attend. A day school, as numbers began to increase, was set up for the women and younger children, with

evening classes for the boys and others engaged in day work. A carpenter and a mason, aided by native labour, a brickmaker with native assistants from the station, put up by degrees the necessary buildings, while three white shepherds taught other natives the management of sheep and how to shear. Horsebreaking and bullock-driving were learnt in the same manner; the object being constantly kept in view—now happily attained—of fitting the natives for the duties of the farm and garden, as well as the fold and woolshed. All these operations had been much facilitated by the labours of Mr. Schürman, a German missionary, who, under the Government and with grants made from the Treasury, had carried on a school in the Port Lincoln district previous to the arrival of the archdeacon at Poonindie. That school was subsequently amalgamated with the latter institution, which grew and strengthened as the grace of God seemed more and more to rest upon it and the labours of the archdeacon. For five happy years, under his personal direction, this growth, material and spiritual, continued. In spite of about twenty deaths—not less than seventeen of which were attended with circumstances justifying a very happy hope of the state of the departed—the numbers in the institution reached sixty-two. They are now eighty-three, and the difficulties which beset it at an earlier period seemed in great measure to have been removed. The natives were moral in their conduct, and able to resist temptation when sent with drayloads into Port Lincoln. It is remembered how ‘Conwillan’ on one occasion having loaded his own dray with goods from a coasting vessel according to orders, was found by the archdeacon rendering the like service to a settler, whose teamster was lying intoxicated on the beach; and in no one single instance did it happen that a

Poonindie native sent upon errands into the township was ever found 'the worse for liquor,' however frequently sent there upon business. At that time drunkenness was the constant and prevailing sin of the white labourers. The Sunday services meanwhile, and daily worship, carried on at the Poonindie chapel, were marked with so much reverence and devotional fervour that the 'strangers' from Adelaide or elsewhere became most favourably impressed with the sincerity of that worship and the piety of spirit from which it emanated. The singing was led by three of the elder young men playing on flutes, while the low gentle voices of the others made their 'psalms and hymns and spiritual songs' a delight to themselves and all who heard them.

"Time at length brought its vicissitudes. In June 1856 Archdeacon Hale was called in the Providence of God to fill the see of Perth, in Western Australia, which was at that time made a separate diocese from Adelaide. The removal of the founder—the spiritual and temporal head of the institution, the friend and guide, the teacher and counsellor, the example and ruler of the natives—could not but be a sorrowful event. It might have been disastrous. The loss of a loving Christian father must needs be distressing to his children. Poonindie was not exempted from the sadness and ill effects of such a deprivation. The difficulty, nay impossibility, of finding one to succeed the bishop of Perth, as deeply interested as himself in the mission, as well as qualified to conduct its complicated details, was quickly discovered. Even if the like Christian temper and benevolence might be hoped for, it was not easy to find a missionary his equal in knowledge of men and things, of business habits, and having a general acquaintance with the details of sheep and cattle manage-

ment as well as farming. The expenses of the establishment were to be defrayed in part out of the proceeds of the sheep and farm. Then followed a season of severe sickness, under which during two years, month after month, the elder natives were struck down. Between July 1856 and March 1858, in spite of all Mr. Hammond's* skill, watchfulness, and care, twenty-one deaths ensued. The cloud of sorrow lay dark and heavy upon the institution. The spirit of the inmates sank; a rumour of the mortality had reached their friends in the bush, and none were inclined to enter what seemed to them the 'valley of the shadow of death.' Other discouragements succeeded. The House of Assembly refused to vote supplies for its support, although a new trustee had been chosen, and an overseer, directly responsible to the Government, had at the instance of the Chief Secretary been appointed. Rumours became rife of revocation of the native reserve; of the putting up for sale of the land, marked out in sections; of mismanagement; and that associated with utter unbelief in the public mind generally of any possible benefit from the institution to the natives; complaints from the natives themselves of harsh and unfair treatment from the overseer. To obviate such complaints and secure to the natives some fruit of their labour beyond food, raiment, and clothing, the trustees arranged that a weekly money payment should be placed to their account, which they might spend as they themselves chose. The system thus inaugurated was found to work well, as it had at an earlier period under the archdeacon. It has since been continued and extended. It was pleasing to observe how

* An English surgeon who took Holy Orders and became Bishop Hale's successor at Poonindie. He long lived as a highly-respected clergyman in the Port Lincoln district.—F.T.W.

well, generally speaking, the money was spent; in procuring good clothes for themselves and wives, or domestic comforts, or by paying passage money by steamer to Adelaide, and spending there, with all propriety of conduct, a short holiday. Health and quietness seemed once more to come back to the institution, which prospered in a worldly sense under the skilful management of the overseer; but the higher tone and happier spirit of the primitive period were lacking. The superintendent acting in the name of the Church, and the overseer exercising authority over the natives on behalf of the Government, the usual consequences of divided responsibility followed; and while the station prospered, the mission was overshadowed. During this period, however, the school was kept up by Mr. Hammond and his daughter, and then taken charge of by two theological students,* who in succession during two years and a half did good service, maintaining discipline and good conduct among the younger inmates.

“A change at length took place on the appointment as trustee of Mr. G. W. Hawkes—a name well known in Sydney and Adelaide for zealous co-operation in every work of benevolence. The Governor having ratified his nomination by the Lord Bishop of Adelaide, the institution was carried on after his appointment in the joint names of the present trustees—the Lord Bishop of Adelaide and Samuel Davenport and G. W. Hawkes, Esqs.

Once more it became possible, by a change in the management, to restore the missionary character of the institution, and realise the grand idea of the founder,

* One, the Rev. W. Clayfield, afterwards became a devoted clergyman in the hills to the east of Adelaide, and died much beloved; the other is now the Rev. Canon Poole, M.A., incumbent of St. John's, Adelaide.—F.T.W.

viz., a Christian village of South Australian natives, reclaimed from barbarism, trained to the duties of social Christian life, and walking in the fear of God, through knowledge and faith in the love of Christ their Saviour, and the power of His Spirit.

“It is unnecessary to trace the steps by which, in June 1868, the existing arrangements were brought into full working order under the present staff of officers—the Rev. O. Hammond, chaplain—charged also with inspection of the sanitary condition of the natives; Mr. Robert William Holden, superintendent and instructor—Mrs. Holden subsequently took charge of the women and girls; and Mr. Watts Newland, managing overseer of the station. The object of employing only native labour in the operations of the farm and run being kept in view, as few white people were engaged as possible, viz., a carpenter, a ploughman, and a station cook who baked for the natives.

The ordinary routine of daily employment then adopted is as follows:—At six a.m. the station-bell rings. The natives having charge of teams go to the stables to feed and water their horses. The bullocks and horses required for the day are brought in by the stockmen. At seven the chapel-bell is rung for morning prayer, when all the inmates of the institution are expected to attend. There is seldom occasion to find fault with the attendance. During the months of September and October of the present year, 1872, sixty adults are recorded as present both morning and evening, besides children, out of a total of eighty-six natives. At half-past seven breakfast, the single men and boys breakfasting together in their kitchen, the single women and girls also by themselves, the married couples in their cottages. In winter the time is one half-hour later. At eight a.m. the station work-bell

is rung and the workmen go to their different employments, varying with the season—such as ploughing, when six teams are generally at work, five under natives; harrowing, sowing, tending the mowing or reaping machines, fencing, grubbing—the two latter exclusively by natives—the former partially, being under the direction of the ploughman. The run being fenced, four natives are employed as boundary riders to keep the fences in order. In the lambing season natives only are employed—mustering, cutting, branding, drafting both sheep and cattle. At the shearing season they wash, shear, press, and cart the wool bales to the shipping place. At twelve o'clock the dinner-bell rings for the whole establishment; at one, work is resumed on the bell being rung; at six p.m. in summer, and five p.m. in winter, the labours of the day cease; at half-past seven p.m. evening prayer is read by the superintendent, with a lesson from Scripture, and two hymns are sung; at nine o'clock the single boys and girls are mustered at the mission-house, and then retire to their respective dormitories—the married couples soon after. Such is the general routine of the day for the working population.

“If it is asked in what way the natives are remunerated for their labour, the following system is in full and satisfactory operation:—For day work, from ten shillings per week to twelve shillings are paid, according to ability; at machine work or ploughing, one pound per week; shearing, fifteen shillings per hundred, the same as whites. The two best native shearers earned each fourteen pounds in a month during the present season. Besides the above wages the following is the ration allowance:—Sugar, two pounds a week for each adult; tea, a quarter of a pound; flour, ten pounds; rice, one pound; tobacco, four sticks to

each man ; soap, one pound ; meat, ten pounds ; bacon, one-and-a-half pounds, honey, treacle, oatmeal as required. If sick—sago, maizena, and other medical comforts are supplied gratis. Half the above scale is adopted for children. With regard to schooling, all the children who need to be instructed, not being allowed to go to work, are assembled in the schoolroom from nine to eleven a.m., and two to three in the afternoon. A sewing class assembles at the same time, when Mrs. Holden instructs the women and girls. In the evening there is school for adults and boys from half-past six to half-past seven, at which hour the chapel-bell rings for prayers. The whole number under instruction averages thirty. Their reading is intelligent ; writing very fair ; the arithmetic does not go beyond the four first rules. There are also maps, scripture plates, and others for teaching natural history. One evening in the week a sewing class assembles at the mission-house, the work being paid for according to skill, and the proceeds devoted to some charitable or missionary object. Mrs. Holden then reads to the women as they work. The average number attending is fifteen. Out of the funds thus collected one pound was sent in July 1872 to the mayor of Glenelg in aid of the fund then being collected for two widows of boatmen, who were about that time drowned. It should also be mentioned that ten pounds is annually subscribed by the native men and women to maintain one Melanesian scholar at the Isle of Mota in the school established under Rev. George Sarawia by the lamented Bishop Patteson. Towards the debt on St. John's Church, Auburn, about seventy miles from Adelaide, a sum of two pounds fifteen shillings was also contributed. Linen for the Communion-table—the finest which could be procured in the colony—has been

recently purchased by them, and their gratitude towards their founder has lately manifested itself in the purchase of a tea service for presentation to him (on his late visit to Poonindie) at the cost of ten pounds. The experience of twenty-five years has shown that the native temperament is soon depressed by continuous labour, to which they have never been habituated. Their spirits flag, they become ill and restless, they long for change of scene, and thus are tempted to stray back into the bush. Cricketing, therefore, was introduced with great success, and the Poonindie eleven has been, with one exception, successful in the matches with their white rivals at Port Lincoln. With the same object the schoolroom is thrown open every evening, when bagatelle, draughts, and other games—cards only excepted—are allowed. Music is a favourite pursuit. More than nine have learned to play the concertina; the flute and violin are also heard among them. Occasionally a few couples amuse themselves with dancing, and that with grace and decorum. A hornpipe danced by two of the men was remarkable for the precision of time. At nine o'clock the room is closed. At the time of writing this account nothing can be more satisfactory than the health of every single native in the institution—men, women, boys, girls, children, and infants. Of the last there are at this time fifteen, and the comparative barrenness which for years hung over this, as over other native mission institutions, has been removed. This effect may probably be immediately traced to the higher moral, spiritual, and mental development of the inmates, and an improved physical condition resulting from such training. It is most pleasing to witness the affectionate relations of the married couples and their great fondness for their children. The bright happy playfulness of the latter, and the pro-

priety of their behaviour, is a source of extreme pleasure to those who watch their free and unconstrained good humour. There is very seldom, indeed, any dispute or quarrelling among them.

“ We shall close this brief narrative with some account of the visit of the bishop of Perth—after an absence of sixteen years—to the institution which he had founded, and of a Sunday spent at Poonindie. Under the able management of Mr. Hawkes it had been entirely relieved from debt, and all necessary improvements effected. The run had been fenced in, paddocks made, two hundred acres cleared and ploughed, cottages built, schoolroom and dormitories erected, and the chapel repaired and beautified. An air of neatness and comfort pervaded the whole place. The whitewashed cottages, some with garden plots, were all tidy and clean within and without. The joyous looks of the natives on welcoming their first friend—though few only remained of those who had been under his personal care—sufficiently showed their grateful sense of what he had done for them. There was a full attendance at evening prayers, and a visit to some of the cottages and older married natives after service soon satisfied him of the advance made in their domestic and social habits and consequent comfort and happiness. On Thursday, November 21, 1872, the schoolroom having been tastefully decorated with flowers and evergreens by the natives and half-castes themselves, at seven o’clock their presentation of a tea service to the bishop of Perth took place. An address was read on their behalf by Mr. Holden, to which the bishop replied in his usual simple and feeling manner. The bishop of Adelaide then read a letter concerning the Melanesian mission, written by Mr. Codrington on board the mission schooner the *Southern*

Cross, on the anniversary of Bishop Patteson's death, September 20, 1871. It stated that the visits of the mission ship were still gladly received by the natives, and that one more island had been added to the list of those which gladly received the Word of God. This intelligence caused much pleasure, showing that the Poonindie contribution of ten pounds annually to the mission fund was well and usefully bestowed. The pastoral staff given to the bishop of Adelaide by the clergy and laity, on his completing the twenty-fifth year of his episcopate, was then shown to them, many of the natives having contributed a trifle towards its purchase. On Saturday, the wool carting having been completed and the hay mown and cocked, a half-holiday was employed in cricketing, at which the young men are adepts, rarely failing to catch or pick up and throw with accuracy the ball.

"On Sunday, the 24th, the bishop of Perth took the morning services at seven and eleven. The first lesson for the day proved to be Ecclesiastes xi., which opens with words singularly appropriate to the occasion—'Cast thy bread upon the waters: and thou shalt find it after many days.' On this topic the bishop dwelt in his discourse, and there was scarcely a dry eye in the assembly. The natives and half-castes were deeply impressed with the signal fulfilment of this promise to their founder and benefactor, while he himself could not but thankfully recognise the hand of God in all that has been accomplished. Many of the white neighbours also were present, and when the bishop administered Holy Communion, twenty-one of the aboriginal inmates presented themselves to receive from his hands the emblems of their Redeemer's sacrifice. It was a season of refreshment much to be remembered at Poonindie, and encouraging alike to them-

selves and their spiritual guides and overseers. In the evening the bishop of Adelaide—who had held a Confirmation in the morning at St. Thomas', Port Lincoln—officiated. There was again a full attendance at service, and the hearty manner in which all responded and sang the hymns would have surprised as well as gratified all who believe the Gospel to be 'the power of God unto salvation.'

"It remains only to add that the station was all astir at six a.m. on Monday morning. After full attendance in the chapel, and breakfast, the whole establishment, men, women, and children, proceeded—some on foot, some by dray—to the shores of Louth Bay, about four miles from Poonindie, to see the wool bales—one hundred—shipped on board the steamer *Lubra*. In 1871 the Poonindie wool fetched one shilling and eightpence halfpenny per pound. The shipping day is always a kind of red-letter festival in the simple calendar of the station, but this occasion was more than usually interesting, because the Poonindie eleven were to embark for Adelaide to play a cricket match with the scholars of the Collegiate School of St. Peter. To those who have any doubts as to the identity of the manhood of the white and black skinned races, it may be satisfactory to learn that the same hopes and fears, the same zeal for the honour of the institution, the same pride in the cricketing uniform and colours, the same self-complacent vanity in looking 'the thing,' the same, it may be affectionate, pride on the part of the dark-skinned 'loving wife' in the appearance at Adelaide of her 'well got up' husband, animated on this occasion the *quondam* denizens of the wilderness; as the like feelings annually manifest themselves on the part of mothers and sisters of Etonians and Harrovians at the cricket matches at

Lord's—proving incontestably that the Anglican aristocracy of England and the 'noble savage' who ran wild in the Australian woods are linked together in one brotherhood of blood—moved by the same passions, desires, and affections; differing only because in His wisdom God has ordained that His revealed truth, made known first to a Syrian, 'ready to perish' from 'Ur of the Chaldees,' should travel westward from the hills and valleys of Canaan; until at the appointed time the stream of Divine knowledge should turn eastward, and cover the whole earth 'as the waters cover the sea.' It may suffice to lower the pride of the white-skinned race to know that the half-caste children between the high Caucasian Englishman and the, supposed, degraded Australian type of humanity are a fine, powerful, healthy, good looking race—both men and women; not darker than the natives of Southern Europe, and capable in all respects of taking their place even in the first generation beside the Briton or Teuton: driving the plough, or wielding the axe with equal precision, or shearing with greater care and skill—from seventy-five to one hundred sheep a day—than their white competitors. It is well known in the Port Lincoln district that the Poonindie shearers do their work most satisfactorily, and that 'Tom Adams' is considered the best shearer in the whole district. Let prejudice, then, give way before the inexorable logic of facts, and let the caviller, if he can, point out a hamlet of equal numbers composed of natives from different districts of Great Britain and Ireland, so dwelling together in peace and harmony, and equally free from moral offences, or so attentive to their religious duties as are the natives and half-castes now living in the institution at Poonindie: enjoying consequently much happiness, and walking in the fear

of God. To Him be all the glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

This narrative at least evidences that a very intelligent and earnest attempt has been made by the Church to raise the South Australian native to a higher spiritual and social state, and that instances do not seem to have been wanting which warrant the conclusion that frequently the attempt produced encouraging results. The Poonindie mission has gone far to justify the opinion of Captain Stokes, the early Australian navigator, who, when he had discovered some rude attempts at aboriginal art carved on the stones of Dupech Island, wrote: "Wherever we discern the faintest indication that such a principle is at work, there we may hope that development will ultimately take place. Until we find a nation which has never attempted to emerge from the circle of its mere animal wants, which has never exhibited the least inclination to develop the most ordinary arts—which not only rejects clothing, but is absolutely indifferent to ornament—which leaves its weapons unadorned, its skin unpainted, free from tattoo, we must not despair of the general efficacy of civilisation."

Twelve years later than the bishop's story—and just a year after he had been laid in his English grave—one of the present Poonindie trustees, E. G. Blackmore, Esq., clerk to the Legislative Council of South Australia, published in the Adelaide diocesan newspaper a sketch of the institution which brings its history down to date, and an extract is therefore given: "The lands held in trust were originally leased to the trustees in 1857 for a period of fourteen years. In 1871 the Government placed the lands under the control of the trustees for the benefit of the aborigines, and in 1878 the Commissioner of Crown Lands notified the trustees by

letter that the mission could not remain in possession of the land, without applying for and obtaining a lease in terms of clause 90 of Act 86 of 1877. The trustees were called upon to furnish the commissioner with an inventory of all stock and material belonging to the mission, and with a statement showing the exact financial position. Accordingly by a letter dated 14th February, 1878, signed by the late bishop, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Hawkes the acting trustee, application was made for a twenty-one years' lease of the land, the trustees covenanting to supply the commissioner, after the expiry of their current financial year, *i.e.*, March 31st, with inventory, accounts, and balance-sheet. It will be sufficient to add that a lease was granted, and under this tenure the trustees hold some fifteen thousand acres of the public estate. In addition to the leased land there are, as before stated, three freehold sections. But the mission station, including the church, schoolroom, superintendent's house, cottages for the natives, farm buildings, stables, out-houses, sheds, and other buildings are on Crown lands. It need scarcely be explained that it is to the leased land the trustees have almost entirely to look for the income wherewith to carry on. The practical problem which the trustees have to solve is how to create an income from the land; to pay wages to those engaged in labour; to feed them and their wives and children; to clothe and feed orphan and neglected children; to provide education for children and adults; to supply medical attendance to the sick and infirm free of charge to them; to pay salaries of superintendent, schoolmaster, clerical visitor, medical officer, and to purchase farm stock, implements, and machinery as required. All these heads of expenditure must be met by income raised at the place, for money grant

or endowment from Church or State it has none. The sources of income may be set down as wool, wheat, skins, and sale of surplus stock. A small quantity of hay is also disposed of in the neighbourhood, and a fair amount is realised by the sale to the natives of goods purchased and kept in store to meet their requirements. About three hundred and twenty acres are annually cultivated, and a good flock of merino sheep, numbering this year about nine thousand, is kept. This quantity, it should be observed, is rather in excess of the carrying capability of the run, but after harvest there is generally a demand amongst farmers in the district for small lots of sheep, and this enables the flock to be culled and reduced with advantage. The staff employed in the management of Poonindie consists of the superintendent and the schoolmaster, resident officers: a medical officer visits the station every month, and in addition as often as he is sent for, or it is necessary for him to come should there be sickness in the place; the incumbent of Port Lincoln visits the station twice a month on Sundays to conduct Divine service, and twice a month on week days. A portion of the evening service is read daily in the church—at which all are expected to attend—by the schoolmaster, who is a licensed lay reader, and who officiates on Sundays when the visiting clergyman is not present. For children there is daily school, morning and afternoon, which is opened on each occasion with prayer, and closed with prayer and hymn, a chapter in the Bible being read, and religious instruction in explanation, following the opening prayer at morning school. On Sunday there is Sunday school, and adults have the opportunity of night school in the week. The trustees feel bound to receive at Poonindie, to the full extent of their building accommodation, any

native or half-caste desirous of admission, and any orphan or neglected native children. Should any such, if an adult or of an age to do harm, be of known bad character, or one who has been previously dismissed for immorality, insubordination, or other sufficient cause, admission would of course be refused, in the interests of the other residents. Similarly from time to time it may happen that one or another has to be sent away because his continuance there may be a source of danger and sin to the rest."

So the fast-disappearing South Australian aborigines have still a spot—in the land which of old was all their own—where they may claim a home ; but, as mentioned in the early part of this chapter, their natural instincts lead them to wander over the face of the ground rather than to settle down in a domesticated condition. Besides the Church's mission at Poonindie, there are also native stations at Point McLeay, on Lake Alexandrina; Point Pierce, Yorke's Peninsula ; Kopperamanna, near Lake Hope in the far North, and Hermansburgh, on the River Finke in Central Australia, which is under the direction of a devoted band of Moravian missionaries. Yet in all these mission institutions which make a total area of six hundred and seventy thousand acres so set apart by the Crown for the benefit of the natives, together with an annual grant of five thousand pounds odd expended under the direction of the Protector of Aborigines, there are only some five hundred blacks being cared for ; out of the five thousand six hundred who it is estimated still survive in South Australia as representatives of their twelve thousand ancestors whom the first colonists are said to have found on the soil when they took possession of it fifty years ago. In the Northern Territory and the centre of the continent, which now form part of the colony of South Australia,

there are seven or eight hundred natives wandering about in small tribes over the vast tracts of country which are still practically their own, but the enterprise of the white man is rapidly turning the land to account by the formation of huge sheep and cattle stations. The Roman Church has with laudable promptitude established an aboriginal mission in the Territory, but it still remains for the Church of England to do her share towards at least trying to secure the dark-skinned wild men as part of that 'inheritance' of our Blessed Lord of which the Psalmist tells us 'the heathen' are to form a part. It is said the aborigines of Northern Australia are at any rate physically superior to their southern brethren.



CHAPTER VII.

MISSION WORK IN THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN BUSH.

VERY soon after the settlement of South Australia it developed mainly into a pastoral country, and so continued until the growth of the agricultural interest in comparatively recent times. The enterprising 'squatters,' as they are called, soon began to push out beyond the settled districts which mostly fringed the coast line, and established themselves with a practically isolated handful of people on the wide tracts of land upon which the sheep and cattle were reared. The discovery, in earlier days, of highly valuable copper mines, also necessarily largely influenced the character of colonial life and the nature of the Church's work. In ministering among such a population there was none of the fascination which, it is easy to imagine, is enkindled by missionary enterprise amidst the cultured heathenism of India, or none of that spirit of romance which surrounds evangelising effort in the dark continent of Africa, where the beauty of the country and the presence of wild beasts and warlike savages supply a charm to the venturesome spirit which is looked for in vain in Australia. Here we have a land not generally remarkable for natural beauty, and where the ordinances of religion are chiefly needed for English-speaking people, widely scattered over an enormous territory, either upon the sheep and cattle stations or in the small country townships. But though the Australian missionary may

want the stimulus of romance in his work, he yet has to undergo a good many hardships and to endure much fatigue. Every year is lessening the trying physical conditions of travelling in the colonies, and indeed the widely extended railway systems of to-day have practically wrought a complete change, but in the pioneer times long journeyings made severe demands upon natural energy and resoluteness of purpose. The first bishop of Adelaide had a full share, in the early days of his episcopate, of the difficulties and privations of colonial travel, as may be gathered from an account—compiled from his own notes—of a six weeks' missionary tour through the northern part of his diocese. The narrative gives, too, a capital idea of the then state of the country traversed, and also shows with what zeal, tact, and regard to future development the bishop did his work:—

"September 10, Tuesday.—Left Adelaide by eight a.m. train to Gawler—twenty-five miles from Adelaide—and, picking up my gig at Willaston, drove some twenty odd miles to the township of Kapunda. The rain of yesterday had made the roads very heavy, and I was advised, therefore, to avoid that by the Sheaoak Log and Greenock Creek and keep the line along the ridge which runs straight to Kapunda. I found the advantage both in point of road and prospects. The views of the country under the Barossa Range in the direction of Kapunda were imposing from the breadth of tillage. As far as the eye could reach it seemed one continued field of deep green corn, enough apparently to feed all and more than all the population of the colony. The soil seemed rich, dark, friable, and loamy, well adapted for corn of all descriptions. Miles of fencing on either side brought me to the railroad crossing, and so down to the ford

Wangombe's turn again. what do you
you for, that no captain in SW

of the River Light, on the north side of which I entered Kapunda and drove through it to the residence of Mr. W., about a mile-and-a-half distant. It had been arranged that there should be evening service at the church, so I returned in due course to Kapunda in Mr. W.'s phaeton. We found, despite the cold and rain, a fair congregation, which, after evening prayer, I addressed from St. Mark ix. 50, particularly urging the duty and blessing of peace in the Church, and in the world around it.

Wednesday, 11th.—The morning was devoted to visiting, and the endeavour to remove unpleasant feelings existing in some quarters. The attempt to enforce by example the principle urged on the congregation last night was not, I believe, without effect. I renewed an acquaintance, which circumstances had interrupted, and with evident pleasure to the parties concerned. I trust this may remove some of the difficulty in the way of the Church cemetery on the glebe. I called also on an old neighbour who formerly lived at Beaumont, near Adelaide, and whose numerous sons, grown into stout young men, I was pleased to learn from the father and mother, were steady, obedient lads. The three eldest, whom I had confirmed on my last visit, with their father, had been at church on the preceding evening. I promised some forms of prayer for young people and tracts, which I sent by Mrs. W. the following day. At three o'clock Mr. Sabine, the local clergyman, drove me in Mr. W.'s phaeton to Hamilton, a distance of ten miles, where the cemetery was to be consecrated and an evening service held. Violent showers made the road heavy and prevented a numerous attendance at either ceremony; but after evening prayer in the school-church, I addressed about forty adults. The state of the great north road was so bad that we did not reach Mr. W.'s till

past eleven p.m., or about thirteen hours from the time of my starting work in the morning.

Thursday, 12th.—Leaving my kind host's comfortable abode after an early breakfast, I drove alone to Hamilton, and, under the guidance of a worthy German doctor, visited St. Philip's Church, under the hills towards the west, which was progressing towards completion. Old Mr. B. and his wife were very glad to see me again, and it was cheering to find this worthy *quondam* Yorkshire countryman, now possessor of a fine estate of some hundreds of acres, striving to secure for his family and neighbours the ordinances of religion by promoting the building of a church. Having promised to open the church building if ready on my return, I proceeded over the 'Butcher's Gap' up the valley of the River Gilbert to Manoora. The visits of Mr. Titherington, the clergyman in charge, have here also led to the erection of a church, and I was anxious to see the site chosen, which had been the subject of dispute.

Friday, 13th.—Starting from Manoora, I drove across the open plains near the Black Springs and Karkulto to the Burra township—a stage of about twenty-five miles—and was rejoiced to see cultivation, both in gardens and fields, gradually creeping towards the township. My route lay between the Sod Hut road and that from Mintaro. The hills were clad with verdure, and the fineness of the day gave zest to an otherwise lonely drive over an open country. Mr. Fulford, the clergyman, met me at Redruth and conducted me to the parsonage.

Saturday, 14th.—The morning was spent in preparing for the pulpit on the morrow, and arranging plans for the ensuing week. In the afternoon we walked to the Burra township, proposing to make a few calls; but rain coming

on we took refuge in the institute, where I read [Dean] Stanley's article in the *Edinburgh Review* on the '*Essays*,' which with much truth nevertheless to me in some respects appeared both sophistical and mendacious.

Sunday, 15th.—Drove with the Fulfords to church, about a mile-and-a-half. The congregations morning and evening were respectable for the place, which is a mining and smelting township, filled with a Cornish and Welsh population; but I missed many faces, which had disappeared since the dispute about the schoolmaster. Many Presbyterians then returned to the Scotch Kirk and had not come again to church. Between sixty and seventy adults and forty to fifty children were present. The churchwardens came into the vestry and joined with Mr. Fulford in a brief prayer, which was devoutly offered and solemnly responded to. A pastorate carried on in this spirit must in time work good. In the evening we walked to church and back.

Monday, 16th.—Drove with H. to Mount Bryan station, and reached it at about one p.m. The Mount is a fine ridge of rocky and well grassed hills; station buildings good; the overseer ill from a 'spree,' and his wife weak from a late operation. I called with H. on cottagers, then on to the men's cook, and the men in kitchen. At the evening service I preached from 1 Corinthians i. 23-24. Twenty adults were present.

Tuesday, 17th.—Drove up the plain northwards to Mr. McCulloch's station—Gottlieb's Wells—a worthy Scotchman, owner of forty thousand sheep, who received us gladly. Evening prayer at seven, twenty-one present; sermon from St. Matthew xviii. 7-8.

Wednesday, 18th.—After a hearty farewell and a request to call again at Gottlieb's Wells, we drove on to Parnaroo,

through a well-grassed and finely undulating country, which changes suddenly not far from Parnaroo into picturesque gullies and rounded hills. Looking to the eastward a high range bounds the landscape, which in this direction is extensive. Mr. G. W. was unwell. I called on the mason and wife, and other married women on the place, inviting them to evening service. Text, St. Matthew xix. 16—"What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" Present fifteen, which for this station was very good.

Thursday, 19th.—The road led pleasantly up the valley towards a stony range, after crossing which it wound down to a picturesque station of Mr. McCulloch's, opening on a well-grassed plain. Here I found a Scotch overseer and wife waiting to have their children baptised before leaving for Outalpa, fifty miles to the eastward. Mrs. B. was particularly neat in person and house—a Devonshire woman. I baptised two children and then enjoyed the clean hospitable fare provided by Mrs. B., who had butter and cream in abundance—formerly unusual comforts in the bush. This shows how much rural luxury and even refinement is practicable even up country for those who desire to have it. Her children were as nicely dressed as if in Adelaide. The father of the children baptised made an offering for church missions. Eight miles further up the valley brought us to Buttamuc.* The ground rougher, and hills more stony, than McCulloch's. Pine hut of three rooms, 'kitchen and parlour' in the middle; store at one end; harness room at the other. I slept on a 'bunk' in 'store.' Coffee without milk, fried mutton and damper; after which I read a chapter in the Bible and offered prayer; then to my bed of *woolpacks on palings*, not over soft. Yet

* A station which afterwards belonged to the bishop's family.—F.T.W.

this was more comfortable accommodation than had the first settlers of the colony.

Friday, 20th.—Mounted Buttamuc Hill: fine view of country between Black Rock and Nakara, the Buttamuc ridge dividing longitudinally the great plain of twenty-four miles breadth. Called on wife of the wellsinker, a decent German with three children. Left tracts. Drove to well-shaft in the plain: water good, though as yet scanty in supply—it must go down to thirty fathoms or more. Thence through scrub and gullies to Black Rock.

Saturday, 21st.—Called on married people, some of whom were Roman Catholics. The mason and wife were from London; he an intelligent mechanic.

Sunday, 22nd.—Service in bachelors' hut—eighteen present. Holy Communion: four communicants: preached from St. Matthew xxiii. 37-38. Evening service at the house.

Tuesday, 24th.—After dinner went on to Pekina station. Called on four cottagers, and also at the men's kitchen, and on Mrs. H., the overseer's wife. Evening service at seven in the men's dining room: thirty-five present: all was well arranged.

Wednesday, 25th.—Baptised a child, left tracts at three houses, and talked to the storekeeper on temperance. The blacksmith reminded me of my text and sermon on my last visit three years before. I met on my road to Coonatto station two children minding a flock, and gave them a tract of prayers for children. Next called on an Irish shepherd at a hut near the road: in the afternoon walked with Mrs. S., of Coonatto, to call on shepherd's wife and others. *S. S.*

Thursday, 26th.—A hot wind. Mr. S. drove me up the

valley towards Yanyarrie to make four visits. At the evening service there were twenty-five present.

Friday, 27th.—Rode into Horseshoe Gully and called on Mrs. R., whose four children I questioned on the catechism, and Mrs. C.; left tracts with both mothers. Went twenty miles to visit two shepherds' huts.

Saturday 28th.—Glad to rest and prepare sermons as well as write letters.

Sunday, 29th.—At the morning service there were thirty-three present, and in the afternoon twenty-eight.

Monday, 30th.—Mr. A. T., an old St. Peter's College boy, drove me to Yanyarrie station; I called by the way on a shepherd's wife and found another woman with her, gave tracts and offered prayer with them. Then to the woolshed, where I invited the chief German shearer to our evening service in the men's kitchen. I got the Germans to sing a hymn at the opening of the service; it was very solemn and sweet. There were thirty-three men present.

Tuesday, October 1st.—At half-past eight a.m. left for Kanyaka station, twenty-four miles, alone on horseback. Passed along the Boolcunda Creek and crossed the wide plain of the Willochra to Kanyaka. The rain over Flinders Range did not reach us. After resting a while, I called on the overseer's wife and four other cottagers and arranged a baptismal service in the bachelors' hut at half-past six. To the woolshed at seven, when three children were baptised, and afterwards from forty-five to fifty men assembled at the men's kitchen for the evening service. I preached from St. Mark iv. 24. It was a fine sight these rough fellows from the shed gathered to hear the Gospel; some Roman Catholics, I understood, were among them.

Wednesday, 2nd.—On to Arkaba station, thirty miles; very hot day. The housekeeper very civil and anxious to

make me comfortable. Visited two families at the station and walked to the eating-house, kept by a decent couple. Baptismal service at half-past six p.m., when four children were brought; afterwards evening service, at which twelve persons attended.

Thursday, 3rd.—My eyes much inflamed; boil also forming on right eyebrow; lay all day poulticing eye. G. M. joined his brothers to-day; full of interesting information about California and the United States.

Friday, 4th.—My eyes being somewhat easier I rode to Warcowie by noon; I dare not leave the house to visit cottages, my eyes being so weak; talked to four women and gave tracts in the kitchen. At evening prayer only six persons were present.

Saturday, 5th.—Stayed indoors until four p.m., when I married a man and a widow, and then baptised four children.

Sunday, 6th.—At half-past ten a.m. to the men's kitchen, where there was a congregation of twenty-three for morning service; I was disappointed that there were not more. At half-past two started for Holliwell-gena, eighteen miles. Mr. R. drove well over the 'Nob'; warm welcome from Mr. and Mrs. W. At evening service thirty-five were present; baptised the overseer's child. My heart was much drawn out towards this 'household church.' Very, very tired at night. Mrs. W.—a gude Scotch wife from Liddesdale—gave me an ointment for my eyebrow and other comforts, which eased me much of pain and weariness.

Monday, 7th.—Refreshed by a long night's rest; after breakfast I walked with W. to his schoolmaster's cottage. This worthy Liddesdale man, valuing as he ought education for his children, has always provided a

schoolmaster for his sons and daughters, and others on the station who can avail themselves of the privilege. The master also keeps the books of the station, and so earns a sufficient maintenance. I was pleased with his pupils, who were receiving a good English education, the Irish National School books being used. What a valuable lesson does this once Liddesdale shepherd boy teach our pastoral magnates as to caring for the training of the children born on their runs! How little has yet been done to provide religious ordinances or education on the stations, although vast fortunes have been made. Taking leave of my worthy hostess, we drove to the next station, another eighteen miles off. Here I found a Highland lady, not very long married, who has lately been transplanted into the bush. She had been brought up religiously, and seemed very anxious to do good as a Christian woman. She prepared everything for evening service, and invited all the neighbours—but her efforts were unhappily much frustrated through the drinking habits of the station hands. Nevertheless, nine attended. In preaching from 2 Corinthians vi. 17-18, I showed that ‘filthiness of the flesh’ was incompatible with ‘sonship.’ I tried to be faithful, but God only can give the increase.

Tuesday, 8th.—Rode over the ranges with R. to Mattawarangala, ten miles on, a temporary station during shearing. The overseer was very civil, but there was no accommodation for service. Came up with a large tribe of natives, looking healthy. They had abandoned Holliwellgena because of two deaths there lately from among their number. Rode on to Bendleby with Mr. G., fourteen miles. A fine view from this station over the plain to the westward. It is more than thirty miles from Coonatto. The whole area worked by this firm of squatters

contains about eight hundred square miles—a sheepwalk equal to two English counties (!)—grazing seventy-five thousand sheep. Water abounds in the gullies under the ranges, and, as in all other cases, has fixed the site of the station buildings. I called on some few residents, the others being away with the flocks at Coonatto and Yanyarrie. Only seven were present at the evening service, whom I addressed from 2 Corinthians vii. 10, on ‘godly sorrow for sin.’ I was most thankful for a good night’s rest, as constant change of scene, with riding, seeing fresh people, and the baptism at the shepherd’s hut by the way, together with the evening service, had made rest necessary.

Wednesday, 9th. — Left for Coonatto. We made a circuit to call at a hut for baptism, about fourteen miles from Bendleby. Found the mother waiting for me and two other shepherd’s wives and children with her: so there was quite a congregation, and all appeared interested in the ceremony. It marks the varied character of the population to note that of the three women one was Scotch—from Queensland—one an Irish Roman Catholic, and the other English. In the bush, national and sectarian prejudices are softened, if not obliterated, by common wants and human sympathies. Rode on to a fine creek with large gum trees, where stood another shepherd’s hut. The mother—of four children—was from Shetland. A filthier hut or dirtier persons, both of mother and children, I have seldom seen (!) Reached Coonatto station, having ridden thirty-seven miles, at sundown.

Thursday, 10th.—I found it needful to make to-day a sabbath of bodily rest, and enjoyed a stroll with my friends into the hills, where we gathered native flowers, and found plenty of small birds among the bushes. Mr. S. left at daylight for Bendleby, to draft five thousand

S. m. m. m.

sheep for market. This run may be described as grassy moorland, bounded by lofty hills and peaks.

Friday, 11th.—Prepared this morning for the evening service, of which notice was given yesterday. Called with Mr. S. on a shearer's wife, whose cottage and children were equally tidy and clean. She was sitting at needlework with a hymn-book open by her side, cheerful and contented. For the half-past seven service, found the little chapel well filled.

Saturday, 12th.—Having now completed my pastoral duty on the Coonatto station, I turned my horse's head southwards, and drove first to Spring Creek, eighteen miles from Coonatto. After the weary plain, the fresh grass and lofty grove of gum trees seemed doubly beautiful. Here Mr. G. has one hundred and sixty acres enclosed, with a cottage in which he has placed a respectable couple, old servants, by whose care the station at Coonatto is supplied with vegetables, and the mails to and fro are forwarded. I was soon regaled with a brace of wild-ducks, tart and cream, in the most comfortable style, and I smiled at English ideas of the hardships of the Australian bush. At Coonatto the best possible cream cheeses were daily brought to table. Indeed, everywhere, even to the shepherd's huts, I found great progress made in rural comforts—milk, eggs, and poultry are common—and every year a more respectable class of married shepherds is found on the runs. Approaching Melrose the scenery improves in beauty at every step. The Flinders Range rises boldly to the west; at its foot there is abundance of wood, and the green well-grassed savannah is sprinkled with herds of cattle rejoicing in the pastures. The last two miles from the dairy station is like driving through a finely-wooded English park.

above which tower the wooded ridges of Mount Remarkable; at the township of Melrose itself I do not think Malvern can vie in natural beauty with the scenery. I was here hospitably received by a widow lady, daughter of a Northamptonshire rector and well connected with the gentry of that county, whom the wheel of fortune has thrown into this distant township. Left a widow with three interesting boys, she continues to superintend and carry on her late husband's extensive store, with the view of realising the means of taking her sons to England for education; a worthy design worthily carried out at much self-sacrifice, such as English mothers well know how to make. May God prosper her design. Her brother is one of the foremost men in Oxford.

Sunday, 13th.—Soon after eleven a.m. the court-house, built of pine logs, was filled, sixty-five being present, to whom after morning prayer I preached from St. Matthew xxii. 12, and also administered the Holy Communion to seven persons. The son of an Oxfordshire clergyman, with his wife, was among them. He has a dray and team of bullocks, and so gains a living, while she keeps a day-school. At four p.m. we again assembled, when the place was still more crowded, the congregation numbering seventy; the singing was good. I preached from II. Corinthians, xii. 9—'My grace is sufficient for thee.' The shadows of evening on the Mount's side were especially beautiful as we walked homewards.

Monday, 14th.—Visited and examined Mrs. H.'s school. The children were very clean and intelligent, reading well and answering sensibly to questions in Scripture. A little Roman Catholic child was dismissed to play while this examination was going on. On my return to the house I baptised a child, and then drove fourteen miles to

Wirrabara, a large sheep station, where I was kindly welcomed by the overseer, whose younger brother—then in the woolshed—had been at St. Peter's collegiate school with my son. Arrangements were soon made for a service in the men's kitchen, whither we proceeded at half-past seven p.m., when there were thirty-two present, to whom after evening prayer I preached from Galatians i. 4—'Who gave Himself for our sins,' &c. Much interest appeared to be excited.

Tuesday, 15th.—Passing through Charlton I found two families wanting a Baptismal service—Mrs. W., with three children; and Mrs. A., who formerly had nursed my own second son, with two. The husband of each was away in the bush, one hundred miles off. The eldest boys of both were left at home to help their mothers, and the elder of these two seemed remarkably solemnised by the service, keeping the younger one in reverent order. I gave some tracts, and after an hour's stay went on my way rejoicing at having given religious comfort to two mothers in their loneliness, both respectable women and really desirous of the ordinances of the Church. In three hours I reached Booyoollee station, and was glad to get out of the hot sun.

Wednesday, 16th.—After breakfast I held a Baptismal service for two infants of shepherds on the run. Mr. and Mrs. H. were at the service, and assisted. I have seldom heard the responses more intelligently and seriously given by the sponsors, or had nicer little children to baptise. At half-past seven p.m. the men's kitchen, which had been nicely prepared for service, was well filled, the number exceeding sixty, Mr. H. assured me. We had singing also, and I preached from Galatians ii. 20—'The life I now live, I live by the faith of the Son of God.'

Thursday, 17th.—Drove to the Redbanks, ten miles.

Called on the overseer's wife, an Irish Protestant, intelligent and clean ; also on a Roman Catholic, who was the reverse.

Friday, 18th.—To Bundaleer, twenty miles over the Gulnare Plains: fine soil, but bare of wood. Rode to call on the sick wife of a shepherd. Evening service at half-past seven in the woolstore, a commodious and cool building. There were forty-three present. I preached on the temptation to worship Satan for the world and its glory. Afterwards there was a fight in the kitchen between some Irish Roman Catholics and others who did not come to the service. Remembering the planting of the fruit garden at this station eleven years ago, I was pleased to see the size and height of the trees, especially the gums, with the almonds, pears, and other fruit trees. The gums are about forty feet high, and thicker than my body. If gentlemen were residing on and improving their estates, what a country this would become ! The creek also has been entirely washed out—twenty feet deep and forty broad—which I recollect as a small watercourse with a large waterhole here and there. Now it is like a ship canal which has burst its lock and emptied itself. There are seventy thousand sheep on this fine run, and nine hundred head of cattle. Mr. and Mrs. W. F. intend to reside in Adelaide. I was glad of bed.

Saturday, 19th.—A very clear, bright, hot morning. Left at half-past nine a.m. for Bungaree; a tedious five miles to the River Broughton through very hilly country and the road gullied by winter rains. After emerging from the valley, a cool breeze from the south made the drive quite delightful. The country green and grassy, not yet dried up by the summer's sun. It was the perfection of a summer day and Australian Arcadian scenery;

large flocks of sheep occasionally met the eye, rejoicing in the plentiful herbage, which was never more luxuriant. At two o'clock I reached the magnificent Bungaree woolshed, one hundred and twenty-five feet long and forty-seven broad. It is adapted for fifty shearers and some thirty other men—woolpackers and pressers, &c. Drays were being loaded and got ready to depart when I arrived. At the home Mr. and Mrs. B., manager and wife, hospitably received me and had kindly asked Mr. and Mrs. W. with Miss C. to meet me, as they expected me yesterday evening. After some rest I called on the married couples on the station, visiting no less than sixteen families; the last a Roman Catholic, the tidiest Irish couple I had ever met with; all received me with much cordiality. The mason G., from Hindmarsh, detained me for some time with a discussion as to why the Church of England did not employ more lay agency for preaching at prayer meetings, and so practically realise the communion of saints! I saw the gist of his observations, and that the tendency of his theory was to democratise the Christian Church under the plea of aiding the ministry of the Word. I said that I had more extensively than other bishops used lay readers, and that every Christian being a priest in his own family, household worship should be general, which I believe is now much lost sight of in the greater excitement of prayer meetings. Evening prayers.

Sunday, 20th.—Hot wind; Mr. B. drove me to Clare. *Beane* Mr. J. T., who was going through Clare to Penwortham, did not stay for service. Such determined Sabbath-breaking may be due to loose religious principles and old bush habits, but it sets a bad example to others. The church at Clare desolate enough, even the gables falling out. Forty-five in all at church, including the

Bungaree party. I preached from St. Luke iv. 19—'Virtue went out of Him and healed them all.' After service baptised a child, and spoke to the churchwardens about saving the building by tie rods, and by fencing the churchyard. Called on Mrs. G. on the way back: the place and garden delightful. Hot winds and dust storm in the afternoon. Service in the Bungaree woolshed at half-past six p.m., when more than one hundred and twenty people assembled from all sides of the country as well as from the station. It was a strange scene—the huge shed, with a half transept, in which the wool is stored and packed, and myself with my back to this transept, and a table with a lamp before me. I conducted the usual evening service, and preached from Galatians vi. 14—'God forbid that I should glory,' &c. I was able, through grace, to speak with some force on this glorious topic, and at considerable length. After an exhausting day it was grateful to seek repose at an early hour.

Monday, 21st.—As usual, the hot wind of yesterday has brought up a violent thunderstorm, with rain and hail. While I was preparing to start, Mr. B. asked me to christen his baby, to which of course I gladly assented. All the servants and the young men on the station under Mr. B., were present, so that we had a congregation of eight adults, besides three little children. When the ceremony was over it was quite obvious that I could not proceed on my journey, for the rain fell violently. After dinner I walked with Mr. B. to select a site* for a church—thence to the glebe of ninety acres, which Mr. H. designs for endowment, where I think there

* A very pretty church, charmingly situated, dedicated to St. Michael, now forms a conspicuous feature on this Bungaree estate, which still remains the property of the Hon. G. C. Hawker, M.P.—F. T. W.

should be a cemetery, and a chapelry beyond at Mount Charlotte. The day was now beautiful after the storm, and the grass fresh and lovely. Mr. D., of Gawler, had travelled through the storm and got thoroughly soaked, and had been compelled to protect his head from the hail-stones with his hands. I was fortunate, therefore, in not having started, nor should I have liked to have travelled over the plains during the play of the vivid forked lightning, as sitting alone in my gig I should have been a conductor. It was afterwards reported that one hundred and fifty sheep had been killed by the lightning at the Hill River.

Tuesday, 22nd.—The morning was fresh and beautiful after the rain. Leaving the station, I drove across country—verdant with grass—towards the Burra, crossing the broad valleys watered by the Hill and the Hutt Rivers, or watercourses, and then over the Camel's Hump Range, across the beautiful green sward of Farrell's Flat, and so over the Burra Range to the township of Redruth, close to which is the parsonage house. The mining population of the Burra is scattered in several townships or hamlets about the mine and smelting works, as well as along the banks of the creek. After resting awhile I prepared for evening service and Confirmation. Borrowing a fresh horse, I and the incumbent—who had returned on Saturday from a mission tour of thirteen days, *minus* his horse and cart—drove to the Koorunga church, some two miles distant. It was well filled and fourteen candidates presented themselves, several of mature age. Considering the circumstances of the place and the comparatively recent pastorate of Mr. F., I was pleased with this number though apparently small. We reached home at half-past nine p.m. *7.24.10*

Wednesday, 23rd.—Receiving letters to say that St. Philip's, Belvidere, which I had inspected at the outset of my trip after leaving Kapunda, would not be ready for a fortnight, I altered my route and determined to stop on my way home at Anlaby, a large sheep station some ten miles from Kapunda, hoping to be able to give an evening service to the shearers and people there, who number nearly one hundred souls, there being fifty shearers besides the woolsorters, pressers, dumpers, and draymen. It looked very black and stormy to the north, but hoping to get over the range before it broke, I started from Redruth soon after nine a.m. for a forty miles' drive. I had not gone far before the rain began to soften the road into mud, and vivid forked lightning and crashing thunder followed. Driving alone in a wild plain—the only object in view—I felt that it might be in the providence of God that I should be smitten down, as many others have been under like circumstances. The storm continued for many miles, rolling along the lofty hills, on either hand, which bounded the plain and seemed to attract the lightning. At length it rolled away over the ranges, and when twenty miles of my journey were over the sun shone forth as I reached a beautiful wooded dell with a little stream flowing under fine gum trees. Here I was glad to rest and feed my horse after our weary drive—mixed wheat and bran supplied the place of oats for my steed—and after a stay of three-quarters-of-an-hour, I was once more *en route* down the course of a lovely creek opening into grassy valleys heading to the south. For eighteen miles my road lay through the purchased property or rented run of Anlaby, very pleasing pastoral and park scenery the whole way. At length I was glad to find myself at my journey's end by half-past five p.m. Never

having travelled the road before, I was thankful to have made only one deviation, which, however, added three miles to the distance of more than forty-one miles which I had travelled. My purpose of holding an evening service could not be carried out, as no notice had been given of my coming, and none of the arrangements could be speedily made which were necessary in providing for such a large number of persons. I contented myself, therefore, with offering family prayer, after reading and expounding the second evening lesson. There were seven present.

Thursday, 24th.—After visiting the large woolshed, which presented a very busy, animated scene, I proceeded on my way to Kapunda, and after spending an hour with the respected clergyman of the town, I got to the railway, and at seven p.m. found myself once more, thank God, in my own house and with my family after an absence of six weeks and two days, during which I had ridden or driven more than seven hundred miles, visited twenty sheep stations, five townships, and fifty-five shepherds' huts or other dwellings, and preached to twenty-nine congregations, besides conducting family prayers, and holding thirteen baptismal services, at which I had baptised twenty-nine children. I had married one couple in the Far North, and confirmed at the Burra fourteen young people. I find the aggregate number of the congregations which assembled at the stations or places north of the Burra and Clare, which places I do not include, reached seven hundred and eighty-three persons."

None but those who have some acquaintance with the bush country of South Australia, and have had opportunities of judging what must have been its condition in the early days, can properly appreciate the physical and mental strain which must have been involved in a tour

such as the one just described. The long stretches of plain, the absence of rivers, the sameness of the vegetation, and the all but voiceless woods, produce a characteristic monotony which is most trying both to mind and body. Often to ride forty or fifty miles through such country under an Australian sun, requires powers of endurance and persistency of purpose quite equal—one would think—to the demands made amidst wilder scenes, where the natural obstacles to be overcome, and the element of danger from denizens of the forest, at any rate supply a stimulus to courage which is altogether wanting in Austral lands.

But the great changes which have come to South Australia since she has so largely developed as an agricultural colony, have, in a marked way, altered the face of the land, and now you must go very far a-field to find a genuine bit of the 'bush' of former times. The resumption by the Government of so much of the land formerly leased in huge blocks to the pastoralists, and its sale in square mile selections to farmers, has taken the surveyor's chain across many a plain where but seldom the foot of man had gone before, and now roads and fences have broken up the vast stretches over which the kangaroo and emu of old wandered at will. The fifty miles of railway, which was the whole distance northward available for the bishop when he made his six weeks' journey, has now been extended to a trunk line already stretching four hundred and fifty miles into the interior of the continent, with long branches east and west, and the electric wires all through the country bringing it into immediate communication with the capital city; and where of old the traveller would only at long intervals come upon a solitary shepherd's hut, the land is now dotted with townships,

many thriving and others already falling into decay as the population moves in some other direction.

During his missionary trips, the bishop though he may have wanted the romance of stirring adventure yet often encountered incidents which at least served to lighten what might otherwise have now and then seemed a dreary as well as a wearying time. His own keen sense of humour and enjoyment of fun enabled him to make the most of any such occurrences. One, too, who travelled from Dan to Beersheba as he did, and threw himself wholly into his not seldom rude surroundings, must himself inevitably often be made the hero of many an incident, and as always happens in such cases, the ounce of fact in not a few stories about the bishop has frequently been so adulterated with pounds of innocently added fiction that the result might more properly be classed under the head of imagination than as belonging to sober reality. A story goes that on one occasion the bishop and his coachman managed to miss their way while driving through some bush country, and it seemed that a night of camping-out was before them. Neither had any food to meet their necessities in the unexpected emergency, but the coachman produced a few oranges from his pocket and begged his episcopal master to divide them so as to get for himself a scanty supper and breakfast. But the bishop was too thorough a bushman as well as too good-natured to consent to any such arrangement, and so he humorously proposed that they should eat the oranges that night and keep the *peel for breakfast in the morning!* Luckily they found the track again and were not brought to face the strait which threatened them.

Quite a crop of anecdotes might be cited in reference to the bishop's well-known pugilistic prowess. The fondness

*This is
any how*

‘for fighting’ which in an earlier chapter, the bishop has said he imbibed at Westminster school led to the most remarkable tales being circulated in his diocese as to evidence he had given of the survival in him of the combative spirit. One account tells of how he was once watching a party of shearers amusing themselves in the shed at night time by boxing, when one ‘heavy weight’ unmercifully punished his less skilful confrères. At length the bishop stepped into the arena and, after he had overcome the natural reluctance of the shearer to ‘put on the gloves’ with a prelate, administered a scientific pummelling to the champion of the shed, accompanying its conclusion with the good-humoured advice to the vanquished hero to learn for the future to deal gently with weaker opponents. Of another highly-coloured incident the bishop was able himself to give the correct version. When the organist of St. Peter’s Cathedral, Adelaide—Mr. Arthur Boulton—was in England in the year 1883, shortly after the consecration of Bishop Short’s successor in the see, he addressed a meeting of Bishop Kennion’s former parishioners at All Saints’, Bradford, and told the good north country folk a startling tale of how their late vicar’s predecessor in the bishopric had given a real drubbing to a bullying Australian bushman. When the report of Mr. Boulton’s speech reached the old bishop, then returned to England to end his days, he sent to the All Saints’ parish magazine a letter in which he said :—“In the interesting account of the gathering of the communicants’ union held on Monday, May 28th, to hear Mr. Boulton’s account of Bishop Kennion’s reception at Adelaide, I find he has detailed an incident in my earlier bush missionary life, which is neither correct *in fact*, nor calculated to make the communicants at Bradford believe that I remembered, on the occasion referred to, the

injunction given by St. Paul to Timothy (1st Ephesians iii. 3) that a bishop should be 'no striker.' No doubt Mr. Boulton gave the story as current, it may be, in Adelaide. The real facts are these: At the close of a mission service given by me in the wooden publichouse—placed at my disposal by the landlord—in the then nascent township of Port Augusta—some two hundred miles from Adelaide—*shrieks* in the yard alarmed the small congregation just about to separate after the Blessing. I with the others rushed out, and found a drunken bushman, armed with a carving knife, threatening to kill the poor girl who was cook to the establishment. I at once said to him, 'My man, you mustn't do that.' He rejoined, 'Who's going to stop me?' I made two steps forward and said, 'I am.' I do not know what cowed the man, but had he made any forward movement, I should have done *my best* to fell him to the earth: he was a *coward* and I remember, in the beautiful bright Australian night, filled the air with curses and blasphemies, until I groaned in spirit for his poor heathenish soul."

The following is a well-authenticated instance of the bishop's genuine humour:—He was on a mission journey in the southern part of the colony when a shipload of immigrants were wrecked on the coast near to the sheep station where the bishop was a guest. All hands on the station cheerfully set to work to provide shelter for the ill-fated voyagers, and on the Sunday the bishop held a service at which both the residents and the stranded immigrants were present. The former were startled and shocked—not being versed in the use of language by the ancients—to hear announced as the text: "And the *barbarous* (!) people showed us no little kindness" (Acts xxviii. 2). So grieved were the kindly colonists at the uncivilised light in which

they believed they had been represented to their unfortunate brethren that they, after the service, addressed a remonstrance to the bishop against what they deemed the unwarranted analogy he had drawn !

His cheerful readiness to adapt himself to circumstances and to prevent his being in any way a trouble to others, received amusing confirmation from what took place when he was on a Far North tour, only a year or two before he retired from office. He was visiting the mission district of a young clergyman, whose wife happened at the time to be suffering from a severe attack of ophthalmia. Added to this misfortune, the maidservant at the parsonage took fright at the addition she feared would be made to her labours in entertaining a bishop, and so she suddenly left her situation, and her poor mistress would have been left alone in her unfit state to minister to the bishop's needs had not a young girl parishioner generously volunteered to come to the parsonage and give what help she could in the domestic difficulty. The old bishop upon his arrival soon grasped the condition of affairs, and next morning, after he had made an early start with the clergyman to visit an adjoining sheep farm, it was discovered that he had *made the bed*, and otherwise put things straight before leaving his room.

It is not to be wondered at that one who could prove himself the kind-hearted genuine bushman, which such little incidents as these show the bishop to have been, should have made a reputation which is still enthusiastically kept in memory in the outlying parts of the immense colony over which he worked for just a third of a century.

CHAPTER VIII.

ORGANIZING A DIOCESE.

BEYOND all else, the first bishop of Adelaide left behind him amongst the people over whom he had exercised his office of chief pastor marked evidence of his great capacities as an administrator. When it is remembered that he came to a colony which was in its infancy, which extended over a vast area, and which had no predilections in favour of the Church of England, the material condition of the diocese when its first bishop laid down the seals of office might well call forth expressions of surprise and admiration from those in a position to judge of the difficulties under which the work had been done.

The final withdrawing, by the vote of the newly-elected Legislative Assembly in 1851, of all pecuniary help from the State towards the support of religion, compelled the Anglican Church in South Australia to devise a purely voluntary machinery for carrying on its operations. The bishop fully appreciated the gravity of the responsibility which had fallen upon him of guiding his flock by devising a diocesan constitution suitable to the rather unique circumstances. The letter which he addressed to the Church Society when the State-aid question had been distinctly settled has already been mentioned, as also the Society's reply urging the formation of a Church Assembly, consisting of the bishop, a synod of clergy, and a convention of laymen. The next development of the

movement for providing an autonomous governing body for the diocese was a conference of bishop, clergy, and laity, when the report of the Church Society in reply to the bishop's letter of suggestions received considerable modification. Then followed a memorial to the Queen, which set out—"That the body of English ecclesiastical law has not yet been adapted to the wants and necessities of the Church in the colonies: that the jurisdiction of the bishop over the clergy is left without any prescribed form of process: that there is no prescribed form or mode of appeal to the metropolitan, or of giving effect to the sentence of his court: that the periodical meeting of the bishop, clergy, and laity in diocesan assemblies is as yet unauthorised by the supreme authority of the Crown. Lastly, your memorialists humbly pray that your gracious Majesty may be pleased to sanction such diocesan meetings of the bishop, clergy, and laity, and to empower them to make and give effect to such rules and regulations as may be deemed expedient for the better government of the Church in this colony, and as may be consistent with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and the lawful supremacy of the Crown." When matters had advanced to this stage, the bishop considered the whole subject to be of such grave importance as to justify his visiting England, whither he went in February 1853, to confer with leading ecclesiastical lawyers and to watch the issue of the question which had by the memorial to the Queen been brought under the attention of the Home Government. The result of the appeal to England took the form of a Bill introduced into the Imperial Parliament in 1854, by the then Archbishop of Canterbury—Sumner—for the purpose of removing any disabilities which might exist preventing the

Colonial Church from forming assemblies for the government of its dioceses. In the meanwhile the bishop had placed the draft constitution of the diocese of Adelaide which had been agreed upon by the bishop, clergy, and laity in the hands of an eminent English conveyancer for revision, and it then passed to some of the most distinguished counsel in England for their opinion as to the possibility of its being carried into effect upon a legally binding basis. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Bill never passed through Parliament, but fortunately the learned counsel—Sir R. Bethell, then Solicitor-General and afterwards Lord Chancellor Westbury; Sir Fitzroy Kelly; Sir Joseph Napier; and Mr. A. J. Stephens—to whom the proposed constitution had been referred, agreed in the opinion that it was competent for a colonial diocese thus to organise itself without Imperial authority. Armed with the legal sanction which he had sought, and also with the approval of Archbishop Sumner, the bishop at once returned to South Australia. The draft constitution then went before the various parochial vestries for their assent, and next, early in October 1855, the synodal compact and fundamental provisions were submitted to a diocesan assembly convened to consider them, and were ultimately solemnly signed at Bishop's Court, Adelaide, by the bishop, the clergy, and the elected lay representatives. In the year following, on Tuesday, April 29, the first session of the now fully constituted synod of the diocese of Adelaide met in the chapter-house—the original wooden parsonage sent out in 1837 for the parish of Holy Trinity, Adelaide, to the first colonial chaplain, the Rev. C. B. Howard, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, having by this time been altered to serve that purpose.

Two years later, in his pastoral charge delivered at the

session of synod, the bishop reviewed the whole action which had been taken in providing the diocese with a constitution, and the learned and perspicuous way in which this review was presented may be gathered from the subjoined extracts from the charge, for which more than a local interest may be claimed having regard to the remarkable development which is moving the whole Anglican Communion in the direction of restoring to the Church the ancient system of government by councils: ". . . Being persuaded," said the bishop, "from the Scriptures that the strength of the Primitive Church, next under the power of the Holy Ghost, lay in the union of 'apostles, elders, and brethren,' and the common interest they took in the evangelisation of the world, when I found this diocese suddenly placed, so far as regarded its relations with the civil government and temporal endowments, in the condition of the Primitive Church, it became an obvious duty to recur to those elements of strength which are inherent in the apostolic organisation. Nor was I unwilling, if God permitted, to show that a branch of the Church fostered, protected, exalted, but in some measure fettered, by the State for more than twelve centuries, could yet rely for support upon the affection of its members, and draw out into active exercise their liberality without subjecting the ministry to a humiliating and unscriptural subserviency. Such was the problem to be solved; such the crucial experiment to be tried in our disestablished Church. Whatever might have been the possibility in the early stages of colonial history for the Imperial Parliament to have legislated for the portions of the National Established Church transplanted to the colonies, the difficulties became insuperable when self-government and constitutional charters were conceded to

each dependency of the British Empire. The *lex loci* would then to a great degree supersede the action of the Imperial Legislature, and among other topics the relations of the Church of England to the colonial Governments would become matter for local, rather than Imperial, legislation. Under these circumstances three courses alone remained—either the bishop would have to administer the diocese and exercise discipline on the absolute authority granted by his letters patent; or seek legal authority over his clergy by ordinance of the local legislature; or by mutual compact between the bishop, clergy, and laity, establish a system of self-regulation to which the civil law would so far give effect as to uphold the agreements fairly made between the respective parties and fairly carried out according to its provisions.

“That the latter was the more suitable and wiser course to be pursued no one acquainted with this colony and the feelings of its inhabitants, will, I think, be inclined to doubt. This difficulty however occurred—that under the Act of Submission, 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, it was held by many to be unlawful for the clergy to meet and discuss any ecclesiastical matter, however necessary for the preservation of the Church or the advancement of true religion. That yoke, however, of bondage was found upon enquiry to be more imaginary than real. The present Attorney-General for England, Sir R. Bethell, Sir F. Kelly, and Mr. Napier of the Irish bar, pronounced it to be perfectly legal for the bishop of Adelaide to assemble his diocesan synod in order to make such by-laws for the management of the local interests of the diocese and the internal discipline of its members as militated neither against the civil law of the colony nor the ecclesiastical law of the United Church of England and Ireland.

As supreme head over that Church, the Queen could not admit, on appeal to the judicial committee of her Privy Council, any diocesan regulation at variance with the general law and principles of that Church.

“ Such being the limits within which any colonial bishop may proceed to organise his diocese, it would be absurd, on the one hand for any diocesan synod, assembly, or convention, to attempt to make decrees binding upon other parties than those who voluntarily enter into the compact, as it is on the other to deny the legality of such synods making by-laws binding on the bishop, clergy, and laity who shall agree to abide by them. I have dwelt more fully on this matter, because I have observed from time to time insinuations made as if our synod was illegal, and elsewhere the like objection has been made to voluntary conventions and compacts of the bishop, clergy, and laity in the colonial dioceses, as if they alone of all Protestant communions were to be denied such a portion of religious freedom. The necessity of our entering into such compacts and declaring such rules is further evident from the fact of real and personal property having been put in trust for the support and advancement of the Church of England in this province. It is surely proper, then, that the specific trusts on which such property is held should be declared, embracing of course the fundamental principles of our Reformed Episcopal Church, her acknowledged doctrines, and the liturgical offices and ceremonies which she has inherited from Christian antiquity. On the one hand it would be useless to declare rules and principles without making the property assigned for the support of the Church subject to those rules ; and on the other, to put property in trust for the benefit of the Church of England, without specifying the distinctive

principles of that Church, and the mode whereby adherence to those principles by the ministers and officers of the various congregations shall be secured, will only sow the seeds of future dispute, litigation, and possible disruption. Without some such system diocesan union is nominal rather than real, and the Scriptural authority of the bishop exposed to undue impediments whenever it may become necessary to bring it into exercise.

“ Under these views, draft regulations and a draft trust-deed, embodying those regulations, upon the plan of John Wesley’s model trust-deed—under which the whole property belonging to the Wesleyan Society is at present vested and administered—were drawn up under high legal and ecclesiastical advice in England. The discussion, however, of the regulations occupied so much time, and involved questions so momentous to the very existence of our Church as a branch of the United Church of England and Ireland established by law, that it was thought advisable to defer the consideration of the draft trust-deed to future sessions of the synod; and meanwhile ‘where to we had attained, to walk by the same rule.’ Accordingly only so much of the original design of the ‘compact’ as is embodied in the regulations was proposed and adopted by the bishop, clergy, and lay representatives in behalf of the ecclesiastical parishes, in witness whereof they signed the synodical compact; but it was upon the plain understanding that the parishes which by their representatives had assented to the regulations would be bound to enforce the acts of the bishop or the synod done in conformity with those regulations. That such moral obligation exists, no one who has considered the matter doubts; but, nevertheless, it is not clear—at least without some formal provision to that effect introduced into the trust-deeds of

the several churches, and some act of the existing trustees taken in accordance with the wishes of their respective vestries accepting such provision—that such trustees would be compelled to give effect to the sentence of the bishop after verdict of the synodal assessors wherever it involved suspension from, or deprivation of, the temporalities of the incumbency. Without this step it would appear that the synodal compact will fail to take legal effect. The civil courts will look to the trust-deeds in any question involving the possession of the property, and to such lawful jurisdiction as is conferred upon the bishop by the letters patent creating the see, subject always to the general ecclesiastical law of the mother Church. It is needless to expatiate on the delay, difficulty, and expense in litigation which might thus be occasioned. The compact, then, is as yet incomplete and inoperative; and, so far, the obligations arising from it, as regard the bishop and clergy who have signed it, are necessarily provisional. The laity, indeed, have accepted it by their representatives. It remains for them to assist in giving it due legal efficacy by a model declaration of trusts for ecclesiastical property given, whether for diocesan or parochial purposes, and some provision recognising the authority of synod, to be incorporated in all existing trust-deeds. This is evidently necessary for effective discipline, because otherwise it is easy to conceive the case of trustees, in whom the legal estate of the church and parsonage is ‘vested,’ refusing to give effect to the sentence of deprivation or suspension pronounced by the bishop in synod upon a clergyman convicted of doctrinal error or ecclesiastical misconduct, to say nothing of immorality. It is necessary also, in order to secure the religious independence of the churches, unfettered by the action of civil tribunals, because it is

the inherent right of every branch of the Church of Christ to try its own members for breaches of His law, and, if found guilty, to expel them from communion. If the ministers of any Church are made fully aware of the terms on which they are admitted, and belong to it; if when accused they are tried fairly according to the rules of that Church, and being found guilty are sentenced to loss of temporal advantages which they hold by virtue of spiritual offices therein, I hold it to be beyond the scope of the civil magistrate and civil tribunals to take cognizance of the truth or falsehood of the doctrines held by that body, or its rules, provided neither issue in acts prejudicial to the public morals or the peace of society. If we render unto Cæsar the things of Cæsar, let not Cæsar intrude into 'questions of' our 'law,' of which matters he is not necessarily a judge. Such questions, indeed, come under the cognizance of the courts in England because there the Church is incorporated with the State, and vast property is held in virtue of strict adherence to certain modes of worship and doctrinal statement. Here the State ignores political connection with all and every branch of the Universal Church. It cannot, therefore, justly claim a right to pass judgment upon the distinctive doctrines, whether of Congregational Independency, or Wesleyan Methodism, or of the Church of Rome, any more than of the United Church of England and Ireland. The range of legal enquiry I consider to be limited to this, in the case of a minister of any of those bodies suffering temporal loss in name or property, by the ecclesiastical authorities recognised in those bodies—Were you a voluntary member of the society? Were you fairly tried according to its rules? Are the facts and evidence on which you are found guilty and sentenced true? If these questions be answered in the

affirmative, then I maintain it is the simple duty of the civil judge to give effect to each particular compact, and to refuse damages for possible loss of character or benefice to any person duly censured or deprived by the recognised ecclesiastical authority of the Church to which he belongs."

Before long the legal value of the synodal constitution here sketched out was put to the test, for upon one of the diocesan clergy being suspended for drunkenness he claimed to be tried under the disciplinary clauses of the regulations of synod, and upon a judgment averse to him being given by the ecclesiastical assessors, he brought an action for libel against the bishop in the civil court. It was, however, held that whatever communications the bishop had made in reference to the charge were entitled to be legally regarded as privileged, as the bishop had only acted officially under the synodal compact to which the offending clergyman had voluntarily made himself a party. Yet this judgment did not satisfactorily settle the legality of the synodal compact *per se*, and in 1862 a Bill came before the Legislative Assembly of the colony having for its object the obtaining of parliamentary sanction to the synod constitution. The Assembly, however, declined to interfere in what was regarded as a purely denominational matter. But all difficulties were subsequently removed by provision being made, in the preliminaries before the issue of the bishop's licence to the clergy, for a legal declaration by each clergyman prior to his receiving a licence that he held his office in the diocese subject to the synodal law, and that as to the temporalities he acknowledged himself as *tenant-at-will of the Ordinary*, who consequently had power to oust him upon his being duly convicted by the assessors of breach of the discipline regulations of synod. After the bishop's

resignation of the see, and when the duty of selecting a successor led to the diocesan law being carefully looked into, attention was called in England to what seemed to some the arbitrary rule which makes the clergy tenants-at-will. Thereupon the bishop published an explanatory letter in the *London Times*, in which he said:—"It might be supposed that the bishop sits as a judge, with absolute power of revoking any clergyman's licence, and so depriving him of his preferment. But suspension or deprivation can only follow after a verdict of a jury composed of five jurymen taken in rotation from a list selected by the synod at its annual meeting; and the mode of enforcing the sentence of the diocesan court was adopted by the clergy as well as the laity in synod assembled. It should be also observed—1. That the charge must be made by two or more communicants. 2. It cannot be proceeded with until it has been pronounced *primâ facie* credible by the dean and chapter, a body of five senior clergy. 3. In charges of doctrinal error or rubrical irregularity three of the five jurymen must be clergy. 4. An appeal is given, either against the verdict or the sentence, to the bishop and to the accused. Such are the safeguards against oppressive use of the 'tenancy-at-will of the ordinary,' and such the provision for the enforcement of the sentence of the bishop and his diocesan court." In his annual charge in 1858 the bishop was able to say: "Nothing has occurred to make me modify or retract the views I have advocated since 1850 concerning the necessity and advantage of synodal union. On the contrary, the adoption of similar organization by the dioceses of Melbourne, Toronto, New Zealand, and Capetown, and the advance towards it made in the metropolitan diocese of Sydney, confirm me in the general soundness of the view propounded and

acted on *first* in this diocese." And after he had resigned the see he wrote: "The cardinal principles of this synod convention were—1. That synodsmen should be communicating members of the churches they represented. 2. That the *concurrent* assent of bishop, clergy, and lay members shall be necessary to make any rule binding on the Church at large. After an experience of thirty years, I may say that in no single instance has the bishop felt it necessary to refuse concurrence in any measure passed by the two other orders; nor, with one exception, has any attempt been made to disturb this essential principle of an Episcopal Church." A constitution which has stood such a lengthened practical test may well claim to have established itself through its inherent strength; and by his learned labours in this direction Bishop Short has earned for himself the great distinction of having done much to show that the Catholic Church has no need to lean upon the fleshly arm of the State, but that under her ancient system of conciliar government—modified it may be in some degree by the teaching and the necessities of later times—a solution can always be found of the problem how to provide a diocesan organization which shall both have binding force and conform in all essentials to the precedents of ecclesiastical antiquity. Doubtless the success which attended the introduction of synodical action into the diocese of Adelaide was largely due, at least in the earlier stages, to the learning and ability of the first president of the synod in practically carrying out the details of the system. With his comprehensive grasp of the principles of synodal constitution, the bishop was always able to guide his diocesan governing body upon right lines, and it is not surprising if his complete knowledge of the liberties and limits of the

appear? he was

synod sometimes made his action appear autocratic. Of this an amusing example has been reported as authentic. It is said a young clergyman was on one occasion addressing the synod when the bishop, having satisfied himself that the neophyte divine was not making any very helpful contribution to the subject under discussion, interposed in such a way that the speaker had no option but to sit down. The late Dean Russell, whose generous nature always led him into an almost quixotic championship of the young or the weak, ventured to call the bishop's attention to the fact that the young cleric was not transgressing any of the synod's rules of debate and had a right to be heard. With that impetuous abruptness for which he was so well known, the bishop jumped from his presidential chair and pointing to its vacant seat retorted upon the dean: "Would you like to come and sit here, sir?" The ludicrous side of the incident seemed suddenly to strike everybody at once, and a general roar of laughter, in which the bishop heartily joined, was the only outcome of the point of order the dean had raised.

Other matters of diocesan organization soon followed the great central one of the institution of the synod. The creation of the bishopric of Perth in 1856, and the appointment to the new see of Archdeacon Hale (of Adelaide) relieved Bishop Short of the episcopal oversight of the whole colony of Western Australia, or more than half of the territorial area to which his duties had up to that time extended. This not only provided for the more efficient working of the Church in the huge western province of Australia—to which Bishop Hale went accompanied by a very widespread feeling of affection and respect throughout the diocese of which he was the first archdeacon—but it also allowed the bishop of

Adelaide to concentrate his energies and the material resources at his disposal upon the colony of South Australia, to which henceforth his bishopric was limited. The gift, already mentioned, to the diocese of Adelaide by Mr. W. Leigh, of Lichfield, of certain city lands in Adelaide has proved of incalculable service in building up the Church, but this is largely due to the ability with which the fund was practically financed by Bishop Short. Although the property is actually vested in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Leigh Fund has always been managed by a board of attorneys in Adelaide, upon which the bishop of the diocese has *ex officio* a seat. The property mainly consists of a block of about two acres in the centre of Adelaide. There are now some handsome shops and warehouses on the land, and it is chiefly from these that the annual rental income of some three thousand five hundred a year is received. This income is used for general diocesan purposes, there being hardly any branch of Church finance which either does not now receive assistance from the Leigh Fund or has not been helped by it in the past: indeed it is often jocularly called the diocesan *milch cow*.

The Pastoral Aid Fund was instituted through the liberality of Captain William Allen, a colonist to whom the bishop once publicly referred in one of his early annual reports as "the greatest temporal benefactor—next after the Baroness Burdett-Coutts—whom the diocese has yet been permitted to know." After many other evidences of generosity to the Church, this gentleman by will bequeathed a capital sum of five thousand pounds to be used in increasing the incomes of the clergy. The plan is that whenever a parochial district has been formed it applies to be placed upon the schedule of parishes receiving a grant-

in-aid in proportion to the income locally provided for the clergyman, and this grant it is entitled to for a certain number of years. Upon the expiry of this term the parish is expected to have so developed as to be able to relieve the Pastoral Aid Fund of the duty of assisting it, and by taking upon itself the entire responsibility of the incumbent's stipend it sets free for the help of a new parish the grant it received during its infancy and youth. But the assistance given by this fund can in no case exceed fifty pounds a year, and, moreover, many parishes when their time for getting this aid was over were still not in a position to support the clergyman.

Some further system of endowment, therefore, needed to be devised, and this was done by another prominent layman of the diocese — W. J. Browne, Esq., now resident in England, but still one of the largest pastoral holders of the colony. It is said that when the bishop and Mr. Browne happened to be fellow passengers on one of the steamers going to Port Lincoln, the conversation turned upon the precarious character of the clerical incomes, and it was then that the layman sketched out to the bishop a scheme whereby through the purchase of land, in the first instance with borrowed capital, a permanent endowment fund to provide stipends for clergy might be created. Mr. Browne's original plan contemplated the investment of capital to the extent of twenty thousand pounds in land, and had this been found possible the revenues of the Church at this time—after an interval of about thirty years—would probably have been reckoned in millions. But the promoters of the proposal had to content themselves with borrowing the comparatively modest amount of seven thousand pounds, which they proposed to clear off by raising a sinking fund of one

thousand pounds a year. This they achieved, and at present date an income of about eight hundred pounds per annum is the result of the investments of the society. After paying the expenses of management, the net income was paid over to the synod, who applied the fund in subsidising local contributions towards endowments in the proportion of about one pound six shillings and eight pence for every one pound raised by the parish, or, in other words, a local amount of two hundred pounds would be supplemented by three hundred pounds, and so a capital of five hundred pounds would be secured, from which formerly a ten per cent. income resulted, but which now, in consequence of the cheapening of money, only yields six per cent., or a total of thirty pounds a year towards the stipend. It is possible that attempts may be made before long to increase the capital of the Endowment Society, and quite recently the offering of even more liberal terms to the parishes has resulted in largely increased applications for grants towards parochial endowment. At present the Endowment Society's income and the local contributions have together built up a Synodal Endowment Capital Fund of nearly twenty thousand pounds, which produces a return of about one thousand two hundred pounds a year in aid of parochial stipends.

Another difficult, yet very necessary, department of diocesan finance to which the bishop gave careful attention, and ultimately brought to a flourishing condition, was the making some provision for the widows and orphans of the clergy. With the help of the attorneys of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel a capital of nearly ten thousand pounds has been founded. The married clergy pay four pounds and those who are single two pounds per annum as premiums, but the membership is voluntary. At

the last quinquennial investigation into the state of this Clergy Widow and Orphan Fund the actuary reported that it would be safe to fix the annuities for the next five years at sixty pounds per annum, but in order to be well within the possibilities the synod have made the amount fifty-five pounds a year, and several widows of clergy are now drawing this very substantial aid to a slender income. It is also available for such children of a clergyman—if the widow be dead or has married again—as have not attained to eighteen years of age, if girls, or sixteen years if boys. And any clergyman who has been a subscriber for fifteen years can continue to be so, and so secure the benefits of the fund, even though he may remove to another diocese. If he withdraw at any earlier stage he is entitled to half his premiums paid.

Further provision for the clergy in time of affliction has been made in the diocese of Adelaide by the institution of a Clergy Annuity Fund, which secures a pension to any clergyman actually disabled by old age or accident from fulfilling his office. The capital account now stands at just five thousand pounds, and the present value of the annuity has been fixed at one hundred pounds a year for the current five years. Up to the present, however, the fund has never had an annuitant, and the annual income from interest, premiums of one pound per annum from the clergy, and a yearly offertory in all the churches in the diocese—which is also made in the case of the Widow and Orphan Fund—is being regularly capitalized.

It only remains to be added, in order to give an idea of the lines of organization laid down by Bishop Short, that annual collections are made in all the churches on behalf of both home (*i.e.*, the diocesan) and heathen missions, and in this way not only are the more settled

parts of the colony encouraged to contribute towards meeting the spiritual needs of the sparsely populated districts, but also a diocese itself still in the missionary stage is made to realise that even though it be but in its infancy, it has duties in respect of the heathen who have yet to be gathered into the flock of Christ. The diocesan contributions for foreign missions are principally given to Melanesia, it being felt that the contiguous islands of the Pacific are a special responsibility of the Australasian Church.

In this brief outline of the policy pursued by the first bishop of Adelaide in the peculiarly anxious task of laying the foundations for the future development in a new country and under a voluntary system of a branch of that communion which has grown up under State recognition and with the support of large ancient endowments, the specially noticeable feature is the remarkable ability displayed by the bishop in providing *capital funds* to supply the place of endowments, and by this means constructing a strong and permanent basis as the nucleus for after-growth. Those who have had the most intimate association with the diocesan machinery have frequently borne their testimony to the wisdom and prudence of which the framework of the various institutions of the diocese give evidence, and although—as the bishop often ungrudgingly testified—the laity gave valued assistance in organizing work, yet it is generally recognised that in most instances the originating, and certainly the guiding and controlling, mind was that of the bishop himself. And in the larger matter of Church government, the constitution of the synod of Adelaide contains—as has been previously suggested—much which, from its learned faithfulness to ecclesiastical precedent and its ascertained

value as a means for moulding and giving expression to the mind of both clergy and laity on questions of Church polity, entitles Bishop Short to a distinguished place among the pioneers in the field of synodical action.



CHAPTER IX.

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

IT is not surprising that one who used to say—as Bishop Short did—that he owed everything, under God, to the results of his education, should give a foremost place to all efforts which had mental and moral training as their object. The bishop, therefore, always showed himself to be a firm believer in the dictum that the best dowry for youth is to make easily accessible the means of culture. And so among his first labours in his diocese were those directed towards founding a sound system of education which should embrace all classes of the community, and extend from the common minimum of a primary course to the more advanced curriculum of the English grammar school. Accordingly, within three months of his landing in South Australia, the bishop had started the building of a commodious schoolhouse to be worked upon national school lines, and had arranged to bring out a schoolmaster and his wife from England. In this way the Pulteney-street school in Adelaide began, and it still remains practically the same in character as when inaugurated forty years ago, while its first master, Mr. E. K. Miller, is yet laboring in the diocese—though now as incumbent of the country parish of Willunga, about thirty miles to the south of Adelaide. The principles upon which this school worked were embodied in the subjoined :

MEMORANDUM UPON A DIOCESAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION, WITH
ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO PULTENEY-STREET SCHOOL.

The principle of education in all schools connected with the Church is, that it should not be merely secular but religious. Religion must be taught in definite views, and those views in the Church of England are embodied in her Catechism; which is to be taught to all children after they have learned the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. At the same time, religious liberty is perfectly compatible with teaching a definite system. Where parents object to that system, their children may be exempted from such instruction, provided the children of the Church are not defrauded of it. This may be effected by selecting a particular day or days, hour or hours, for such instruction, when the children of dissenting parents may be dismissed. It seems to me that Wednesday afternoon, one hour before school is over, might be devoted to such special teaching in the Church Catechism. Every morning and evening a *form* of prayer should be used, and some portion of Scripture be read in the Authorised Version—*explanation*, if any, being verbal and practical. By adhering to such a system, there is no abandonment of Church of England teaching on the one hand, and on infringement of religious liberty on the other. Such a plan may become diocesan, and the Pulteney-street school in that case will be the normal school of the diocese. On such principles I am prepared to aid it with the funds of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and books purchased from the funds granted me for educational purposes by that Society.

It is on the main lines so laid down that the school has always been conducted, and despite the strong competition of the elaborate Government system of secular public education, it continues to be a decided success. At the same time as he was laying in train this elementary school, the bishop took steps for immediately beginning the work of higher education in the diocese. In the early part of the year 1847, the Rev. W. J. (afterwards Archdeacon) Woodcock, together with Mr. Marshall McDermott, a prominent pioneer colonist, had initiated a grammar school institution in Adelaide, and the bishop having been advised of this before his leaving England,

brought with him to the colony the Rev. T. P. Wilson, M.A. (B.N.C., Oxon.), to take the position of headmaster. A wider basis having been laid down, and various sums of money locally subscribed, the bishop transferred to the governors of the school the sum of two thousand pounds, granted by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on the condition of provision being made for the accommodation of four students in theology. On the 9th of April, 1849, Mr. William Allen—whose generosity to the Pastoral Aid Fund has been already noticed—offered a donation of two thousand pounds towards the erection of the school buildings, provided the property were vested in a council of governors, the bishop of the diocese for the time being to be president and visitor. This being agreed to by an ordinance enacted by the Governor of South Australia, with the consent of the Legislative Council—Act No. 1 of 1849—the governors of the Collegiate School of St. Peter were incorporated. The bishop purchased for nine hundred pounds a fine block of thirty acres of land on the eastern side of Adelaide, about half-a-mile from the city bounds, as a site for the school, the foundation of the buildings being laid by the bishop on the 24th of May, 1849, and the schoolroom finished and entered for use in January 1850. The main block of the present buildings was ready to be occupied at Michaelmas 1853, but since that time they have been considerably enlarged and improved. Besides apartments for the masters, matron, and servants, dormitories capable of accommodating sixty boarders have been finished, and a handsome chapel has been built, as well as large detached schoolrooms, and a fine fives court and a gymnasium. The Collegiate School now forms one of the most imposing and interesting public buildings in the

colony, being built on a gently rising eminence and making quite a striking feature in the landscape. The frontage of the portion already finished is one hundred and fifty feet, and the extreme height of the tower sixty feet, the buildings extending into the orthodox collegiate quadrangle. Though originating with, and chiefly erected by, members of the Church of England in the colony, St. Peter's School is by no means an exclusive institution, its advantages being open to all the community. The original buildings cost about fourteen thousand pounds, and among the names in the list of first contributors were—William Allen, Esq., Adelaide, seven thousand and eighty-four pounds four shillings and seven pence; the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, two thousand five hundred pounds; John Ellis, Esq., Adelaide, one thousand two hundred and twenty-two pounds; the Lord Bishop of Adelaide, one hundred and seventy-five pounds; Diocesan Funds, three hundred and two pounds fifteen shillings and one penny; the University of Oxford, one hundred and fifty pounds; and the late Hon. George Fife Angas, of Lindsay Park, South Australia—who was not a churchman—two hundred pounds. By the June of 1858 the examination papers of the school included conic sections, trigonometry, algebra, Euclid, Latin, Greek, German, French, history, geography, science, and the British Constitution, as well as Holy Scripture. There have passed through St. Peter's since its foundation many students who have gone on to Oxford and Cambridge and taken distinguished places in the class lists, and a large number of the present leading professional and business men and politicians of the colony have had their training in the diocesan collegiate school. As time has passed on a fair number of exhibitions—one by a former

Governor, Sir H. E. F. Young, and another by Bishop Short himself—and scholarships have been founded. The first Dean of Adelaide—Farrell—was a specially liberal benefactor to the school, he having bequeathed funds by which the sons both of clergymen and laymen may provide for themselves the chief part of their collegiate course. There are four Farrell Scholarships of fifty pounds per annum, tenable for three years, two being open competitions and two restricted to clergymen's sons. The decidedly successful establishing some ten years ago by the Wesleyan Methodist body of a second advanced school under the name of Prince Alfred College—the foundation stone of the buildings having been laid by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh upon the occasion of his first visit to the colony—has of course lessened the number of scholars at the older collegiate school, and there are also now several similar institutions conducted by private enterprise. But if the colony continues to develop there should be room enough for all, especially now that the founding of the University has naturally given an impetus to advanced education. The future usefulness of St. Peter's ought, also, to be materially extended by reason of the splendid bequest made to it a few years ago by an Adelaide merchant named DaCosta, who provided by his will that upon the expiration of certain life tenancies the whole of his estate should pass to St. Peter's College. The property consists of a large quantity of city and country land, and its present value has been estimated as at least one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. The only condition imposed by the donor is that the governors of the school shall publish annually within the first six months of each year in the *Government Gazette* a statement of their administration of the

bequest, and the singular proviso is added that should default be made in this the whole property shall pass to the Governor-in-Chief of the colony to be by him applied as he may consider most equitable. But probably there is little danger of the diocesan collegiate school losing so rich a heritage, and when it comes into the enjoyment of it the school ought to become a great blessing to the rising generation.

But besides devoting himself to the cause of education from the standpoint of the chief pastor of a diocese, Bishop Short, from the necessity of his prominent position, exercised some considerable influence upon the State educational policy. When the bishop reached South Australia nothing had been done to introduce a Government system of education ; the plan in vogue being one of grants-in-aid to private schools. But in 1851 by a statute of that year a State scheme was initiated under a Central Board of Education, who provided teachers and checked results by inspection. This plan, as population increased, proved inadequate to the growing requirements, and in 1875 a bolder and more comprehensive policy upon secular (with merely permissive Bible-reading before the regulation school hours), compulsory, and free (if the parents declare themselves unable to pay fees) principles came before Parliament. The new departure attracted a great deal of attention throughout the country and a good deal of strong feeling against ultra-secularism found expression in various ways. The Roman Church naturally and properly urged that its people had no right to be called upon to assist in maintaining a Government department from which they could not receive any benefit, and warmly pleaded for the subsidising of denominational schools. Many, also, who were not prepared to go with the so-called

denominationalism platform were yet anxious for some recognition of the religious principle, if even only to the extent of Bible reading without note or comment. With this party the bishop threw in his lot and clearly expressed his views in an address, subsequently published, in which he says: "The taxes out of which State schools are supported are paid *mainly* by persons who profess to be *Christians*, and who desire their children to learn their moral duties out of the Word of God. This righteous claim is, at present, denied them by the Education Act. At the same time the State *compels* their children to attend State schools; while it has rendered most private schools unremunerative, and so practically closed them. This is, to say the least, arbitrary and wrongful legislation. Nor can it be asserted with truth in these days that the difficulty of admitting Bible reading arises from denominational teaching which would surely follow." But it is said by not a few, who may well claim to have some reason for their opinion, that if the chief pastor of the Church of England had boldly made common cause with his Roman brother, the result which both really desired would have been wrested from an unwilling Government in the form of grants-in-aid to Anglican, Roman, or other distinctive day schools. The Lutheran body would certainly have joined in any attempt to secure this end, and it has been thought that a not inconsiderable number of other folk, who attached prime importance to religious instruction, might have been persuaded to make one united front against the much dreaded pure secularism. Indeed, there are not wanting now-a-days signs of a spreading popular dissatisfaction, after more than ten years' experience, with the non-religious system, and a growing dread of its probable moral effect upon the rising com-

munity. So far as the Church is specially concerned, its most baneful effect has been the difficulty it opposes, because of its powerful rivalry, to any effort made in the direction of primary education." In a report to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1850, the Bishop wrote: "It will be my object to connect a schoolroom with every church, and to open it for day and Sunday schools." But, without educational endowments and in competition with a State organization which to a very large extent is a free system, clergy and parishes dependent upon the voluntary principle have only in a few instances been able to realise the bishop's wise intentions.

Yet though the Government virtually checkmated the bishop on a vital point of Church polity, he was much too patriotic a colonist to refuse to place at the service of the State his great abilities as an educationist when the opportunity arose which led to a request being made to use those abilities in the public interest. And that time came when the University of Adelaide was founded. About fifteen years ago there existed the Union College of South Australia, designed mainly to train young men for the various nonconformist ministries. A wealthy Scotchman, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Walter Hughes, proposed to endow the college to the munificent extent of twenty thousand pounds, but its promoters, to their great credit, thought that so magnificent a gift should be made of wider educational use to the community at large than was contemplated by their institution. Out of this the University grew. Another Scotch colonist—now Sir Thomas Elder, K.C.M.G.—followed the bright example set by his countryman, and offered a like amount of twenty thousand pounds for university endowment. Other

donations have been made for the same purpose, and already the sum so devoted has almost reached sixty thousand pounds, which is supplemented by Government in the form of an annual grant of five per cent. upon the capital raised, and also by an endowment of fifty thousand acres of land. Schools of arts, law, medicine, science, and music have been established, and men who have had a brilliant career at the British seats of learning have been attracted to the professional chairs of this youngest *alma mater* of Australia. Its first chancellor was the late Chief Justice, Sir Richard Hanson, and the Bishop of Adelaide became the first vice-chancellor. Upon the death of the chancellor, Bishop Short succeeded to the higher office, and during his tenancy of it much important work had to be done, including the holding of the first Commemoration Day and the beginning of the University buildings. In his address at the Commemoration the bishop's known enthusiasm for learning found expression in an eloquent passage, in which he spoke of the " Republic of Letters " as being " no high sounding name signifying nothing. Wide as the world, it is the commonwealth of genius ; the domain of intellect ; the abode of science, art, and literature ; the home of poetry and fiction ; the birth-place of liberty and order ; the sanctuary of truth and natural law." Part of the proceedings consisted of the initiation of a senate for the Adelaide University by the admission of resident graduates of other universities to *ad eundem* degrees, and it had been decided that the same order of precedence should be observed as that adopted in British universities ; but Mr. Chief Justice Way—who had succeeded Bishop Short in the office of vice-chancellor, and has now followed him in the chancellorship—in a happy speech said that the council

of the University had decided that there must be one exception made in this order of precedence: "It was felt," said the Chief Justice, "that his lordship's position as the official head of the University—not to speak of the distinction he has brought to the office, and of the valuable services he has rendered in it—(applause)—it was felt that it was due to his lordship's position and to his general character that the first degree of the University of Adelaide should be conferred upon its chancellor. (Applause.) I find that this resolution of the University council meets with the approbation of this audience, and I believe its decision will be confirmed by the general body of the public outside. His lordship is an old colonist of more than thirty years' standing, and he has shown himself equal to any possible task that can be imposed on him; yet I venture to think it would be rather a singular task for him to confer a degree upon himself. (Laughter.) Therefore I have the duty—and I esteem it a high honor as well—as vice-chancellor of the University and as spokesman of its council, to confer on the chancellor the *ad eundem* degree of Master of Arts in the University of Adelaide. My lord, we all feel that you do honour to the University in accepting that degree. You have referred to the proceedings of to-day as being the admission of the University of Adelaide into the great Republic of Letters, and into what you term the United States of Learning. I hope you will allow me to add that in its first graduate it is in the true line of academical succession. In the person of its chancellor and first graduate the University of Adelaide is united to the most ancient foundations for learning in England—to Westminster school, which he entered as a scholar in 1809, to the venerable University of Oxford, in which he graduated with distinction as first-

class in classics in 1823, and as Master of Arts in 1826—that is fifty-one years ago—and in which he was afterwards successively public examiner, select preacher, and Bampton lecturer, and from which, in the year 1847, on the occasion of his leaving for South Australia, he received the well-deserved distinction of Doctor of Divinity. There is one circumstance to which I hope his lordship will excuse me for alluding—it is, that during his residence in Oxford in the years 1828 and 1829, among the students who attended his terminal lectures, who read right through Thucydides with his lordship, was one of the most illustrious of the long line of statesmen, orators, and scholars who have gone forth from the University of Oxford. If we want a proof of the advantages of a university training one cannot select a more signal example than his lordship's distinguished pupil, William Ewart Gladstone."

Up to the time of his final departure from South Australia, the bishop's keen interest in the development of the crowning point of its educational system never abated, and when he left the colony the community generally seemed to realise that in no department of colonial life would the venerable prelate be more missed than from the presidency of the university. This feeling has found permanent and appropriate expression in the marble bust of its second chancellor, which now has its place on the entrance staircase of the university, and towards the cost of which subscriptions, purposely limited to a small amount, were received from every part of the colony.

Not long before resigning the see, the bishop was able to achieve at least the partial fulfilment of what had long been one of his most cherished dreams in connection with the great question of education—namely, the building of

part of a theological training college, and the endowment of a lectureship in theology. For many years he had seen that St. Peter's Collegiate School could not well accomplish the double purpose of its own original foundation by training candidates for Holy Orders as well as providing a public school course for the youth of the colony. Often had the bishop publicly emphasized the fact that the ranks of the diocesan clergy must ultimately be mainly supplied through an indigenous ministry, but the want of any means for encouraging reading for Holy Orders had made the outlook a very serious one. At length the bishop was able to buy a very suitable block of ground immediately opposite the cathedral church, and not two years before resigning the bishopric he had the satisfaction of laying the foundation-stone of St. Barnabas' College, so called in commemoration of the ceremony taking place on the bishop's seventy-eighth birthday. One of the last official acts of his long episcopate was the bishop's dedication of the first part of this building, its cost—some two thousand pounds—having been previously fully discharged; and upon leaving for England his lordship presented the greater part of his extensive collection of theological and classical books as the nucleus of the St. Barnabas' College library. Only the front elevation of the college has been built, supplying accommodation for about half-a-dozen students, but the architect's plans contemplate two wings being thrown out, and so allowing for a total of fourteen theological candidates being in residence. But necessary as the college buildings are, they can never be of great practical value to the diocese until an endowment has been instituted whereby inducements may be held out to young men, who otherwise would not be able to do so, to prepare for the ministerial vocation. Probably in no way

which would be more in harmony with the earnest desires of the first bishop of Adelaide, could anyone who might be moved to do something by way of furthering his great work for God accomplish so pious a purpose than by establishing one or more theological scholarships of fifty or sixty pounds, tenable for two or three years, at St. Barnabas' College for promising youths, who could thereby—and in no other way—attain the end of a sacred ambition to devote themselves to the ministry of the Church.



CHAPTER X.

THE CATHEDRAL OF ADELAIDE.

IF one well versed in the history of the Church in South Australia were to be asked to name that which, beyond all, yielded satisfaction to the soul of the first bishop, when, at the close of an episcopate of more than thirty-three years he looked back upon his life's labours, there can be little doubt that the answer would be that Bishop Short evidently derived his deepest joy from the completion of the first part of the cathedral church, and from participation in its fittingly beautiful services. Especially during his latter days in the diocese, when failing physical powers compelled him to spend much more of his time than formerly in the city, the delight which the old bishop drew from seeing the cathedral adequately fulfilling its mission as the exponent of the dignity of the Church's worship was quite touching in its enthusiastic unaffectedness. And those who best knew how in earlier times their now aged chief pastor had indeed been called upon to 'endure hardness' amidst the roughness of primitive colonial settlement, felt grateful that as life's sun was setting it was permitted to the tired labourer in the vineyard of the Lord so often to chant his *Nunc Dimittis* within the stately walls of the mother church which he had built as the topstone of many toils.

Immediately upon his acceptance of the see, Bishop Short was told that a reserve had been set apart in the then embryo town of Adelaide as the site for a cathedral.

He at once applied to the Colonial Office in London on the subject, and in reply received the subjoined letter from Colonel Gawler—a former Governor of South Australia—enclosed in a note from Downing-street, which speaks of Colonel Gawler's communication as “satisfactory, as setting the question quite at rest :”—

United Service Club, July 23rd, 1847.

My dear Sir—A journey to Brighton and return to London last night, on my way to Derby, prevented your letter of the 20th—which followed me—from coming to hand until this morning.

In reference to the question you propose in it, I would say, that when I arrived in South Australia I found several portions of land marked off in the Government maps for specific public purposes by the Surveyor-General, Colonel Light, under the order, I presume, of my predecessors, Governor Hindmarsh and Mr. Fisher. *The centre of Victoria-square for a cathedral was one of them.*

When I heard of Miss Coutts' liberality to South Australia, I wrote to Governor Robe to call his attention to this point, as it might have escaped his notice, and my *testimony* might be important to him.

Very sincerely yours,

GEORGE GAWLER.

Gordon Gairdner, Esq., Downing-street.

Upon reference to the original plans of the city of Adelaide, Colonel Gawler's statement was borne out by a sketch thereon in the centre of Victoria-square of an imposing cathedral building. Soon after his arrival in the colony the bishop enquired into the cathedral acre question, and met with such encouragement that within a few months, in a report to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he wrote: “The grant of the site originally intended for the cathedral church in the centre of Victoria-square, the very heart of South Adelaide, has been completed by His Excellency Lieut.-Colonel Robe, the Governor. The public offices and courts

of Law will form the sides of the square, and population no doubt will rapidly increase in the immediate vicinity. The present *pro tempore* cathedral—Holy Trinity Church, North-terrace—is in fact a proprietary chapel, and cannot even be consecrated until the debt on it is liquidated, which is in certain progress. It will be highly desirable to have a church free from all private claims, and open to all as the mother church. I shall not lose sight of this object, which is very important, both for the town and diocese.” But before long the right to the cathedral site was disputed on behalf of the city corporation, who contended that their municipal powers had been infringed by the Governor presuming to dispose of civic property. Ultimately the matter was settled by the Supreme Court, in a suit which called forth a good deal of comment adverse to the bishop, deciding that the position taken up by the corporation was sound, and the Church had no title under the supposed assignment of the land from the Governor. The bishop had previously explained, with some severity, his action in the whole proceeding in his annual address to synod :—“The legality of the grant having been called in question, it appeared to me that the proper way was by a friendly suit to determine the question through the Supreme Court of the colony. I did not, as trustee, feel at liberty to sacrifice a legal claim on the shrine of popularity at the bidding of the press, or to surrender the independent action of the judicial power at the mandate of a political party in the Legislative Council. Every Englishman knows how the integrity of juries has been the palladium of British freedom, and it will be an evil day for South Australia when individual claims cannot be investigated in her courts of justice by reason of popular clamour or political

party spirit. But to the clergy and laity representative of the Church in this diocese I stand in a different relation. For them I act as trustee; and if, in the spirit of Christian fellowship, *they* desire that *their* claim to the disputed acre should be given up, I shall feel warranted in surrendering the land grant and dropping an action at law, which, even if successful, would not tend to promote peace in the Church and the best interests of religion." The loss of so valuable and prominent a site had a depressing effect upon the cathedral movement, and for years the subject did not again come into prominence. Yet although the building of the material fabric had to be delayed, part at least of the vital idea of the cathedral soon became an accomplished fact. When his letters patent were being prepared, Bishop Short had particularly asked to be allowed to see the draft of them, and that power should be reserved to him under the letters to nominate the necessary capitular body of clergy for his future cathedral. Referring to these concessions, and to the steps he subsequently took in consequence of them, the bishop when reviewing his episcopal career wrote: "That this liberty should have been conceded, I consider a great boon. It enabled me, for example, to ask for the introduction into the letters of the office of canon, in addition to that of archdeacon, as part of the cathedral chapter, which in accordance with ancient practice and true Catholic tradition should form the bishop's council in spiritual matters, as well as be guardians of the temporalities of the see during its vacancy. I desired also to recur to the principle laid down in the Canons of 1604, viz., that the chapter being associated with the bishop in the ordination of priests should have, as presbyters, a certain voice in determining the qualifications of the

candidates for the priesthood. This, I thought, would preserve the diocese from party bias, and prevent the undue prevalence of any one particular school of thought among the future clergy. The first use I made of this privilege given me by the letters patent was in the interest of unity and goodwill among my clergy. Having appointed as my archdeacon the Rev. Matthew Blagden Hale (subsequently first bishop of Perth and then of Brisbane), I found on my arrival that the Rev. J. Farrell, M.A., the colonial chaplain, occupied as the head of the few clergy then in the diocese, and socially among the members of the Church of England, a position which claimed from me some official recognition. I therefore proposed at once to constitute the cathedral chapter; to make him the first Dean, who with Archdeacon Hale and two canons, the Revs. W. J. Woodcock and T. P. Wilson, M.A. (B.N.C. Oxon.), headmaster of the collegiate school of St. Peter, should form the nucleus of that body. The old and new clergy were thus united, and the chapter so composed served to designate the spirit of unity which I wished to prevail in the diocese. I am thankful to say that, more especially of later years, it has characterised the clergy, much to the comfort and support of all. Nor was this the only end contemplated in the formation of a chapter in connection with the cathedral, which I some day hoped to build. The cathedral pulpit would, I thought, stimulate improvement in preaching, and call forth a higher style of pulpit oratory. It seemed to me also that in years to come the canons might assist in the training of theological students, by lectures, historical or exegetical. Moreover, as missionaries in the rural districts, they might gather into the fold the scattered sheep of our communion. Instead of

sending out into the country young priests or deacons, fresh from England and without experience of colonial life and colonial character, the older and abler clergy would thus go forth as missionaries, and exercise a more powerful influence in gathering together congregations and organising them into permanent churches and parochial districts. The endowment of the chapter and securing at once a stipend or honorarium, more than sufficient to cover travelling expenses, formed part also of the original design. I saw no prospect of a *resident* endowed body of canons, who should, as in England, carry on the daily services of the cathedral, but I hoped by honorary canonries to attach to it some of the more eminent parish incumbents who should from time to time act like the select preachers in the university pulpits of England. All the objects contemplated in the original design I have been permitted to see effectually carried out thirty-three years after the foundation of the chapter. It is the old cathedral system of England modified to suit a colonial diocese. The cathedral of Adelaide is really the church of the bishop, who is responsible for its services. He is *rector*, assisted by the titular dean and canons and two vicars, one appointed by the bishop and the other by the bishop and chapter conjointly. The latter vicar is expected to supply the duty at the church of the canon whose turn it is to preach in the cathedral. Thus practically, as it is in theory, the cathedral is the parish church of the whole diocese."

When he had settled in his mind the lines of his cathedral constitution, the bishop brought as much of it into operation as he could prior to achieving the building, and then went patiently to work to gradually gather funds for the material structure. That good friend of the diocese,

the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, contributed one thousand pounds, and that generous layman of the colony, Captain William Allen, whose great liberality has previously been mentioned, subscribed a second one thousand pounds, the bishop himself added three hundred pounds, and so an encouraging nucleus was formed. The next step to be taken was to secure a site in place of the one which had proved to have no legal existence. At the junction of North and South Adelaide, within a few yards of the River Torrens, abutting on to the park lands plantations, on the main line of road to the heart of the city, a triangular piece of ground of about an acre in extent, had often attracted the bishop's attention, and finally he bought it for about one thousand pounds. Plans had been procured from the well-known English architect, Mr. Butterfield, of a structure mainly in the style of decorated Gothic, consisting of a sanctuary, choir, dwarf transepts, and nave, with a lantern tower springing from the junction of sanctuary and transepts to a height of one hundred and ten feet, and two western towers with buttresses and minaret spires to rise to one hundred and forty feet. The total internal length of the cathedral was planned for one hundred and seventy-two feet, exclusive of the porches; width of nave and aisles, fifty-nine feet; or of the nave alone, thirty-two feet between the defining clusters of pillars: the walls to reach fifty-two feet, and the roof ninety-five feet: accommodation to be found for about twelve hundred people. A determination came to in the colony to build the cathedral entirely of freestone instead of adhering to the original design, which contemplated the extensive use of brick, led to Mr. Butterfield's abandoning his connection with the undertaking, and the plans were then placed in the hands of a local firm,

Messrs. Woods & McMinn, to adapt in accordance with the views of those who were responsible for the erection of the cathedral. It was not, however, until the twenty-second anniversary of his consecration, St. Peter's Day 1869, that the bishop saw an actual beginning of the work, but on that date the then Governor of the colony, Sir James Fergusson—now Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the brother-in-law of Bishop Short's successor in the see—laid the foundation-stone of St. Peter's Cathedral, Adelaide. The first contract, of some fifteen thousand pounds, only included the sanctuary, choir, transepts, and one bay of the nave, and no addition has yet been made to the building. Seven-and-a-half years later the cathedral had been sufficiently completed to permit of its use for service, but not until the Feast of the Circumcision 1878 did the consecration take place, on which occasion the then bishop of Melbourne—now of Manchester—preached the sermon, and Bishop Thornton, of Ballarat, also took part in the ceremony. From the time of its thus taking its place as the centre point of diocesan worship and work, St. Peter's has proved quite an inspiration to Church life, and so entirely has it fulfilled its purpose that a very general wish exists for the completion of the structure—which will probably absorb another fifteen thousand pounds—and the consequently more complete realisation of dignity and beauty in worship. It is of course entirely free and unappropriated, but the bishop once pointed out—"perhaps it is the only existing cathedral the choral services of which are maintained by the voluntary contributions of the worshippers." The annual income from offertories approaches eight hundred pounds, but this amount is barely sufficient to provide for the maintenance of the fabric and the conduct of the services, and so a

small Cathedral Aid Fund has been established to meet any deficiency. Up to date the expenditure upon the cathedral and its fittings has reached upwards of twenty-four thousand pounds, but much help has been given in the way of either direct gifts or subscriptions raised for furnishing purposes. One of these offerings was the handsome brass eagle lectern given to the bishop in commemoration of his having reached the jubilee year of his ministerial life. Here, too, reference may be properly made to the presentation of the beautiful pastoral staff of richly wrought gold, silver, and jewels, which although handed to the chief pastor of the diocese before his cathedral was completed, yet was most frequently used within its walls. The bishop acknowledged this gift in language marked by such eloquent simplicity and earnestness that it deserves to be quoted:—"This pastoral staff," said the bishop, "with which you, my brethren of the clergy and laity, have been pleased to honour my service of twenty-five years in the episcopate is an emblem of the office and duties of a bishop, not less expressive than appropriate. It is at once the symbol of loving authority and devoted obligation. It has also a two-fold aspect and regard. It lifts the thoughts from earth to heaven, and thence carries them back to the wilderness of this world in which the flock of Christ, purchased with His own blood, the special objects of God's care, is still wandering. It speaks, therefore, to the inner ear devout, of faithfulness to the Chief Shepherd; of self-sacrifice; of love and tender care; of vigilance and boldness in defence of His sheep, for whom He laid down His life; of the ready mind to do and suffer in their behalf; scorning filthy lucre, or that more subtle sin the love of power and dominion over God's heritage. This staff, then, is the symbol of a responsibility awful in its

nature, and vast in its extent. It is a teacher not of pride but humility, not of boasting but self-abasement, not of human strength but carnal weakness, not of self-reliance but of prayer for help from the Spirit of God. In this sense alone, brethren, dare I receive it at your hands. None know better than yourselves that 'it is a small thing to be judged of man's judgment.' I accept it, nevertheless, as a token of your goodwill. If, to use the language of our Episcopal Consecration Service, I have been among you as a 'shepherd not a wolf;' if I have 'fed and not devoured the flock;' if I have in any measure 'holden up the weak, healed the sick, bound up the broken;' if I have 'brought again the outcast and sought the lost,' I thank God in this behalf, and I pray that the blood of souls, perhaps through my negligence lost to be found no more, may not be imputed to me, for His sake Who died for sinners. Again, it is difficult indeed to be 'so merciful as not to be too remiss, and so to minister discipline as not to be forgetful of mercy.' It only remains, therefore, that I should ask your prayers, and the prayers of this congregation, as well as of the brethren in the diocese at large, that our merciful Father may so endue me to the end of my days with His Holy Spirit that, preaching His Word, I may be 'earnest to reprove, beseech, and rebuke with all patience and doctrine,' and also be to such as believe a 'wholesome example in word, in conversation, in love, in faith,' that so fulfilling my course I may 'at the latter day receive the Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord the Righteous Judge shall give to all who love His appearing, even our Lord Jesus Christ, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth ever one God world without end. Amen."

In connection with the cathedral, it will be appropriate

to chronicle the steps which led to the building of the episcopal residence not far from the mother church of the diocese, and this can be done in the bishop's own words :—
“Bearing in mind,” he wrote, “under the counsel of George Selwyn, when bishop of New Zealand, that the baronial residence and stately seclusion of the English episcopate ill become the position and duties of colonial missionary bishops, I determined to choose a site convenient of access both to the city clergy and those from the country who might desire to consult their bishop on their difficulties or troubles. Their slender resources also led me to think that the bishop's dwelling should not be beyond a reasonable walk from the centre of the city. Upon these principles, within a week of my arrival I contracted for two acres of land at North Adelaide, which were at once airy, well drained, and commanded a noble view of the valley of the Torrens, the city of Adelaide, and the fine range of Mount Lofty, with its varied and wooded outline. But beyond choosing the site I had neither permission nor apportionment of the see capital fund to commence building. My idea was that a good English dean's house would meet the wants and income of a colonial bishop. I applied, therefore, to the episcopal committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who had the disposal of the endowment funds, and a sum of two thousand pounds was subsequently allowed for the purpose of aiding in the erection of Bishop's Court. I may here mention that the munificent donation of seventeen thousand five hundred pounds by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, provided and allotted to found the see of Adelaide, yielded me eight hundred pounds a year. On my arrival at Adelaide, a moderate sized house was offered me the rent of which was two hundred and

fifty pounds per annum—too large a proportion, I thought, to be taken out of my income for this purpose. I sought, therefore, and found at Kensington—then a pretty wooded suburban village—a cottage residence of six rooms, with garden; but it involved the necessity of building without delay a kitchen, bedrooms, &c., with stable and coach-house. In those days all new comers were obliged to ‘rough it,’ and my wife contentedly bore her lot until, through the severity of the summer heat of 1848, we lost our youngest child, and in the following year eight out of the thirteen members of our family and household had been attacked by low fever. A move to the hills for greater coolness became necessary, and at Beaumont, at the foot of Mount Lofty Range, I built a residence—of which we took possession in the January of 1851—commanding a delightful view of the plain and city of Adelaide.

“The present episcopal residence was commenced on the 9th of January of that same year, on the occasion of my primary visitation on that day at Christ Church, North Adelaide. At the conclusion of the service I proceeded with the clergy and lay friends to lay the foundation-stone, my eldest boy, then aged only eight years, with the assistance of the architect, Mr. Henry Stuckey, performing the ceremony. The work went on prosperously until the outbreak of the gold diggings in Victoria in 1852 emptied Adelaide and the colony generally of the working population. Wages rose for carpenters, &c., to fourteen shillings *per diem*. So complete was the drain, that I remember one day on my way from Beaumont to Adelaide that on the whole plain between the hills and the city I did not see a single cart moving and scarcely an individual at work. No roof had been placed on the walls of Bishop’s Court and the chimneys were not yet rising from the wall level. Feeling it

impossible to let the building remain in this condition to fall into certain dilapidation, and notwithstanding the frightful advance of wages, I raised a loan to put on the roof, and leaving the main part of the house to future completion, I contented myself with rendering a bedroom, sitting-room, and servants' room fit for occupation. By this means I obtained an office for business when I came to town, a distance of about four miles from Beaumont. On my return from England in 1854 some of the leading churchmen, desirous that we should take up our residence in Adelaide, raised a handsome subscription towards carrying out the completion of the episcopal house. The additions then made were substantial and sufficient—though still leaving the design incomplete—to enable me to transfer my family and household to the official residence. A dining-room with bedrooms above were subsequently added and the idea of a good decanal residence was thus realised. A private chapel is still wanted, although the proximity of Christ Church, and the cathedral being within a short walk, have rendered this want less pressing than would otherwise have been the case. Daily prayer at St. Peter's, with Celebrations on Sundays and festivals, afford the bishop and his family privileges which even a private chapel would hardly supply. The residence with its two acres of ground and garden have cost nearly six thousand pounds, and are assessed for city rates at the rental of three hundred pounds per annum."

Reference has already been made to the intense satisfaction which Bishop Short in the last days of his episcopate derived from the cathedral services, and a characteristic instance is found in a diary entry under date Easter Day 1881:—"I was able with comfort to go to the cathedral—having been ill there on Good Friday—for Choral Com-

munion at a quarter-past twelve. I never shared before in so divine and impressive a service. The organ and choir were equally effective, especially the Nicene Creed of Merbecke (13th century) and the *Gloria in Excelsis* of Mozart adapted from the Twelfth Mass to the English words. It moved to tears, while it elevated the soul. In my enforced absence from the cathedral services I have (*D.G.*) been enabled to see a dispensation of love, personal and individual, from my Lord and Saviour, both in what He has withheld and what He has permitted me to enjoy. Practical activity in church and diocesan business, necessary to be done, had too much starved my spiritual growth and progress. My illness absolutely suspended me from preaching or helping in the services of the Church. I heard the warning voice, and received grace to submit without repining. There were two hundred and twenty-three communicants at the cathedral to-day. I thank God through Jesus Christ, both for what He has withheld and what to-day He has given me, and I make to Him the offering of a second silver cup and paten for use at the cathedral."


It was on Epiphany Day 1882, just before finally quitting the shores of South Australia, that the old bishop bade farewell to the mother church of his diocese, and the occasion was marked by a pathetic incident. At the early Celebration there were some eighty churchmen who had attended, before going to their business duties, that they might once more join with their aged father in God in the participation of those Divine Mysteries which witness to a union that can never be broken. The service having ended, all the congregation withdrew excepting the bishop. The cathedral organist had remained behind in the choir library arranging some music, when he was startled by

hearing a long-drawn, heavy sigh. Recognising that it proceeded from the bishop, Mr. Boulton hastened to his lordship, fearing that his affection of the heart had brought on sudden illness. Not a word was spoken, but the old bishop took the organist's arm and then began to go slowly round the cathedral, pausing now and then before a window or some other object of interest. At last he stopped and, looking steadfastly towards the altar, bowed his head and said—"Thy Will be done," and then motioned to be taken to the carriage which waited for him at the choir door.



CHAPTER XI.

THE GENERAL SYNOD OF AUSTRALIA AND TASMANIA.

LTHOUGH it may, *prima facie*, appear somewhat out of place in chronicling the early history of one Australian diocese and its first ruler to deal with a subject like the General Synod of Australia, which has regard to the federal union of all the dioceses, yet the first bishop of Adelaide had such a leading part—as will be seen—in developing the General Synod, and was so conspicuously in the van of all synodical action, that any account of his life would seem incomplete which did not identify him with the great united synodal movement of the Australian Church. Moreover, the actual position of any one of the dioceses cannot be altogether rightly understood without considering the relation in which it stands to its fellows.

As was pointed out by the now retired bishop of Brisbane (Dr. Hale) in his opening address—as senior bishop of Australia—to the General Synod in its session of 1881, that body owes its existence to two declarations made in England in favour of synodal union. There was first a ‘recommendation’ of the Convocation of Canterbury ‘put forth,’ says Bishop Hale, ‘in the interests of the Colonial Church’ in the year 1860 which affirmed that:—“There seems to us to be a special need of combined counsels to maintain in unity the Church as it extends; and that by a regular

gradation of duly constituted Synods, all questions affecting unity might be duly settled—Diocesan Synods determining all matters not ordered by the Synod of the Province; Provincial Synods determining all matters not ordered by a National Synod; a National Synod determining all matters not ordered by a General Council. Unity with necessary variety might thus be secured in our spreading branch of the Holy Catholic Church.” And then there followed the resolution of the Pan-Anglican Conference at Lambeth seven years later: “That in the opinion of this Conference, unity in faith and discipline will be best maintained among the several branches of the Anglican Communion by due and canonical subordination of the Synods of the several branches to the higher authority of a Synod or Synods above them.” Acting, presumably, under such high counsel, the seven bishops of Australasia met for deliberation at Sydney in 1868, under the presidency of the metropolitan of Sydney, Bishop Barker. Eighteen years before, Bishop Broughton, in his character as first metropolitan of Australia, had summoned a meeting of the then six bishops of Australasia—the great Bishop Selwyn, then of New Zealand, being one of them, and the other four—Bishops Nixon (Tasmania), Short (Adelaide), Perry (Melbourne), and Tyrrell (Newcastle). At this earliest Australian episcopal gathering the matters discussed chiefly concerned Church organization, such subjects as synodal government, the subdivision of dioceses and election of bishops, and ecclesiastical discipline as applied to both clergy and laity being considered. As the notorious Gorham judgment was at that time distressing the mind of the Church, the Australasian bishops also put forth a manifesto embodying the Catholic doctrine of

Baptismal Regeneration, and when the official report of their proceedings appeared, John Keble—probably having regard chiefly to its witness to the extension of the episcopate—referred to it as “one of the most remarkable documents of our times.”* But the gathering was jealously regarded in some quarters as savouring of disloyalty to the mother Church of England, and the archbishop of Dublin having made a strong speech in this vein, the bishop of Adelaide contributed a vigorous rejoinder to the *South Australian Register* :

Claremont, November 7, 1851.

Sir—As you have pointedly drawn attention to the speech of the archbishop of Dublin, you will, I doubt not, permit me, in vindication of my right reverend brethren and myself, to record my protest against the correctness of his Grace's assertions. The metropolitan and bishops of Australasia did not in their minutes either ‘dictate’ to their lordships the archbishops and bishops of England and Ireland, or of the Colonial Church, nor ‘pass laws’ for the clergy and laity of their respective dioceses.

In obedience to the 25th Henry VIII., c. 19—an Act of questionable authority in the colonies—they resolved *not* to act authoritatively as a *synod* of bishops, but they ‘desired to consult together and suggest’ measures for the removal of ecclesiastical difficulties in their dioceses. Accordingly, in minute 3 they *suggested* that no decision concerning the temporalities of the Church ‘should be valid without the consent of the laity.’ In minutes 5 and 6 they ‘disclaimed all wish to exercise arbitrary power in suspending or revoking the licences of clergymen’ without the sentence of the clergy in synod. In certain points of liturgical observance, for the sake of uniformity, they agreed to recommend a certain course, some of them having been consulted on those points by their clergy. Lastly, in reference to Baptism, the language of the 8th minute is this:—‘As bishops engaged in the charge of extensive dioceses and debarred from frequent opportunities of conference, we do not presume to think that we can inform or guide the judgment of the Church at large,’ &c. Upon this same subject the bishop of Melbourne having preferred to state his own views, they

* Prebendary Tucker's *Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D.*, vol. 1, p. 349.

were accordingly printed along with those of his brethren. If this is 'dictation' then is all expression of opinion 'dictation,' and if not, his Grace's argument exhibits the fallacy of false assumption.

You have printed the speeches on one side only of the debate. They remind me of the answer of Galileo, when the Roman authorities decided that the earth should not move:—'*E pur si muove—it does move though.*'

The authorities in England a few years ago decided that the Kirk of Scotland should not move—*e pur si muove*; it moved nevertheless, and the Free Kirk emerged. The authorities are again trying to decide that the Church of England shall not move—*e pur si muove*. A legal diocesan synod *has* met, and declared its opinions, without 'dictating' to their brethren of the clergy or laity, and without 'passing laws' for the diocese or Church at large. And *perhaps* we shall live to see the Convocation of the Church of England with *lay representatives* meeting and consulting with the Queen's Majesty's licence in London!* I trust meanwhile that the report of the South Australian Church Society, which I enclose, will not be thought to 'dictate to' or 'pass laws' for the Church established in England.

I remain, sir, yours faithfully,

AUGUSTUS ADELAIDE.

By the time of the 1868 meeting of Australian bishops, the invalidity of episcopal letters patent issued for colonies for which responsible constitutions were provided had been pronounced, and the right of the colonial dioceses to form synods conceded. The bishops therefore expressed by a resolution their judgment in favour of a synodical federation:—"In our opinion it is desirable that there should be constituted a General Synod for the entire province of Australia, and that such synod should consist of the bishops, and the representatives of the clergy and laity of the Church in the several colonies comprised within that province." Bishop Barker accordingly summoned, four years later, at Sydney a conference of the bishops of Australia and Tasmania, together with clerical and lay representatives elected for the purpose by the several

* Bishop Short lived nearly long enough to see this forecast verified in the establishment of the House of Laymen.—F. T. W.

dioceses. An inaugural choral service with a Celebration took place in St. Andrew's Cathedral, and a sermon was preached by the bishop of Adelaide from the text—'Love the brotherhood'—1 St. Peter ii. 17. The metropolitan delivered a carefully prepared address to the conference, in which he referred to what had been done by the bishops in 1868, and also called attention to the altered conditions of Church of England work outside the mother country in consequence of the recent disestablishment of the Irish Church and the legal decision in the bishop of Capetown's case, which would prevent the Crown from making new appointments to the colonial bishoprics. It became, therefore, Bishop Barker urged, a matter of grave moment to consider whether the Australian Church should not complete her organization by the formation of a General Synod in which all the dioceses would be represented. The discussion of this question was the chief business of the conference, and as the debates proceeded it became evident that the Church of Australia had entered upon the consideration of very delicate issues. At the outset the point arose as to what would be the future relationship of the colonial dioceses to the Church in England. The metropolitan maintained that, despite the judgments of the Privy Council, the Colonial Church was still an 'integral part' of the Church of England, but the bishop of Adelaide and many other members of the conference distinctly dissented from this view, while they expressed their loyal desire to maintain unity in doctrine and ritual with the Mother Church. Another difficulty arose, also, in reference to the power and jurisdiction of Bishop Barker as Metropolitan of Australia under letters patent, the Sydney party in the conference showing a strong desire not to yield any

authority which might accrue to their mother diocese under the constitution which the Crown had professed to grant to it. The upshot of the deliberations was the constitution of a General Synod with Bishop Barker as Primate of Australia and Tasmania: the meetings to be at least once every five years and the scale of clerical and lay representation to be governed by the number of licensed clergy in the several dioceses. Resolutions, or 'determinations' as they are technically called, were also adopted providing for the election and consecration of bishops, the constitution of an appellate tribunal in ecclesiastical causes from judgments of the various diocesan courts, and the organizing of a Board of Missions representative of the Australian Church with the view of promoting missionary enterprise 'among the aborigines in Australia and in the islands adjacent.' But a distinctly tentative character was given to the determinations by a provision that they should not be obligatory upon any diocese until the several local synods had formally adopted them. The now-retired bishop of Tasmania (Dr. Bromby) always contended that this proviso was the weak point in the constitution of the General Synod, and in his last pastoral charge before resigning his see he "expressed his regret, through absence from the last General Synod, at missing the opportunity of renewing his protest against the fundamental and fatal flaw in the constitution of that body—its not claiming binding force for its determinations, but submitting them to the dioceses for approval. He hoped that the Provincial Synods, whose creation is contemplated, would avoid this radical defect. If so, he prophesied that the formation of Provincial Synods, rightly constituted, would involve the decay of the General Australian Synod."

But although the conference of 1872 had professedly developed itself into a General Synod, the tenacity with which Bishop Barker clung to his fancied legal status as metropolitan prevented for some time the harmonious working of the new ecclesiastical organization. At a Sydney diocesan synod one of the clergy interrogated his bishop as to what changes had been made in his episcopal position by the institution of the General Synod, and the replies which were given made it manifest that the old idea of the metropolitan had by no means been conceded in favour of the newly-created position of primate. Directly Bishop Short became aware of this, he, in his impetuous outspokenness, addressed a somewhat severe letter to his brother prelate :

Bishop's Court, Adelaide, May 4, 1875.

My dear Bishop of Sydney—I address you in consequence of your answer to No. 15 of the questions addressed to you in your diocesan synod on the 21st of April, specifically ; and generally on the tenor of your answers to those questions. You claim by your letters patent, issued in 1854, to be legally metropolitan of Australia, with ‘coercive jurisdiction’ over all the bishops and clergy in that ecclesiastical province ; and with ‘appellate jurisdiction’ from the sentences of the ordinaries of the dioceses within that province. You assert in answer No. 15 that you ‘never intended to surrender any of the rights or duties pertaining to the office of metropolitan,’ and that ‘those rights have always to the present time been fully recognised and acquiesced in by my right reverend brethren.’ I find, however, this passage in your opening address to the General Conference of Australia in 1872 (Report, p. 24):—‘The appointment of a metropolitan over the whole of Australia will also be a matter of consideration. It will be desirable, for the sake of avoiding confusion, that the name should be changed, and that of primate might properly be substituted. There will in time be more than one metropolitan, but there could only be one primate of Australia.’ If you always intended to maintain your rights as metropolitan of the province of Australia, why did you propose the above questions for consideration ?

Again, you knew the bishop of Melbourne’s objection to the term

'province of Australia' as contained in the first clause moved by Mr. Gordon—see pp. 65 and 75 of Report of 1872. He informed the Conference of the Act empowering the Church Assembly of Victoria to form an ecclesiastical province, and consequently a metropolitan. You took no exception that such action would trench upon your rights as metropolitan of the whole of Australia. My own objections to the *legality* of your claim to the jurisdiction as metropolitan by letters patent were stated at once on moving that your address be printed, and on several occasions subsequently, and on your acceptance of the primacy I thought—wrongly it appears—that the question was set at rest by the implied surrender of your metropolitical jurisdiction over Australia—outside of New South Wales—and your consenting to form part, as primate, of the Primatial Committee of Appeal. Such was not only my belief, but the conviction of our diocesan delegates—the dean of Adelaide, the archdeacon, and Messrs. Colley and Hawkes. Accordingly, in 1873 our diocesan synod in its fundamental provisions and regulations altered the word 'metropolitan' to 'primate,' being quite willing to give to you as primate those rights and duties which were not validly granted you by letters patent in 1854.

In 1842, by creating a representative legislature in New South Wales, the Crown 'deprived itself of the power of giving episcopal jurisdiction or of erecting or subdividing bishoprics.' Such is the decision of the Privy Council—see despatch of Lord Carnarvon, dated Downing-street, August 27, 1874. Your letters patent are dated 1854. A full representative legislature was granted to South Australia in 1853. The only indication at the General Conference of 1872 of your intention not to surrender your assumed metropolitical rights can be discovered, I imagine, in your assertion that the Church in Australia is an 'integral part of the Church of England;' and such an indication can only be found by implication. It would have been better if your intentions had been clearly stated. The bishop of Melbourne and his assembly might then, perhaps, have avoided their seeming antagonism to your claim to be metropolitan of Melbourne as well as Sydney. The bishop of Melbourne is not a man, nor are the other bishops the men, likely to break the oath of 'lawful and canonical obedience,' if your rights as metropolitan of Australia were according to the law, common and ecclesiastical, of the Church of England. But if your letters patent were imprudently issued, if your metropolitan jurisdiction was badly, in the eye of the law, created, the oath appears to me unlawful *ab initio*.

I consider myself, together with my synod, to have fulfilled all moral obligations by investing you with authority as primate, and helping to

give you a tribunal of appeal 'by consent' over this and the other dioceses of Australia and Tasmania, and in being ready at all times to receive your 'godly counsels and judgments.' I disregard, therefore, the implied censure conveyed in the questions addressed to you by the Rev. Hutton King; nor should I have noticed them except for your having given them weight by your answers. I cannot but deeply regret that I have been forced into this explanation by your apparent vacillation between the *invalid* jurisdiction of a letters patent metropolitanate, and the real authority of primate, given you by the *consent and compact* of the dioceses beyond the limits of New South Wales.

I am, with all respect, my dear bishop,

Yours faithfully,

A. ADELAIDE.

P.S.—In consequence of the questions and answers having been published in the *Australian Churchman* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*, I feel it necessary to send a copy of this letter to each member of the General Synod, as well as to the editors of those newspapers, but I do not intend to send it to the press in Adelaide or Melbourne, unless they take public notice of those questions and answers.

The second session of the General Synod, in 1876, proved a very barren and disappointing one, because of this same controverted claim to metropolitanical jurisdiction. Referring to the session in his next succeeding diocesan charge, the bishop of Adelaide says :—"The late General Synod claims your consideration in the first place. The second assembling of this body was looked forward to by the clergy and laity with much interest, and not without some apprehension. It was known that the action of the Church Assembly at Melbourne in creating that diocese into a province and appointing the bishop to become its metropolitan, had met with decided opposition from the bishop of Sydney, who claimed under his letters patent to be metropolitan of Australia and Tasmania. In teeth of the judgment of the Privy Council in *Long v. Capetown*, the bishop of Sydney, acting on the opinion of Lord Romilly, demurred to the action of the Church assembly

in Victoria. He considered it to be an invasion of his metropolitan authority over the whole former diocese of Melbourne, and declined to abandon his claim. He was nevertheless willing, with the consent of the Crown and archbishop of Canterbury, to resign that portion of his province. After much discussion, the archbishop of Canterbury consented to refer that question to his legal adviser, the official principal. The answer communicated to the bishop, and received since the close of the General Synod, was to the effect that he could not resign an authority which had no legal existence—the original grant by letters patent being *ultra vires*.

“Another question of considerable importance connected with the metropolitical authority was this: ‘Whether a right of veto on the consecration of a bishop remained with the primate after he had received from the other bishops the confirmation of the person duly elected to a vacant see?’ That he should have the right of veto before submitting any name to the episcopal college might possibly be a power not without advantage to the Church, though not contemplated in conclusion No. 11 of the conference of metropolitan bishops in 1868. But that he should set at nought, after having consulted his brethren, their deliberate decision, is surely not consistent with Christian humility, brotherly love, or sound sense. This question was unhappily left undecided in consequence of an apparent determination prevailing in Sydney to retain the metropolitan letters patent jurisdiction as connected with that see. But the primacy of the present bishop must cease at his demise. . . . That the session should present such meagre results might have been prognosticated from the first, when the letters patent metropolitical jurisdiction over all Australia and Tasmania was asserted by the

bishop of Sydney to be, so far as the diocese of Sydney was concerned, an insuperable obstacle to any action implying the freedom of the colonial dioceses from State supremacy. Considering, however, the widespread colonial empire of Great Britain, embracing every variety of climate and soil and of the human race under heaven, it is unnatural that the Colonial Church should be strictly tied up in its mode of worship by the supremacy of the Crown and Acts of the British Parliament regulating the Church of England and its endowments. Happily, I believe, for its vitality and efficiency, the Church in colonies which possess independent Legislatures has been declared to be not by law established. So far as legal authority conveyed by letters patent is concerned, the metropolitanate of Sydney over the dioceses of Australia and Tasmania never had, and therefore cannot have, any existence. The conviction, indeed, that such was the true state of the law led in the first General Synod to the establishment of the primacy, the authority of which rests necessarily upon compact among the dioceses. It has been attempted, indeed, to view the erection of the see of Sydney and its subsequent division into dioceses, as the act of the Church itself, independent of the State. In pursuance of this theory the see of Canterbury has lately assumed patriarchal powers. An oath of obedience to the see of Canterbury has been exacted of late from the bishops consecrated in England for the Australian dioceses, and that without the assent of the churches over which they are to preside.

“The Act also of the Church Assembly of Victoria appointing the bishop of Melbourne metropolitan has been repudiated by the bishop of Sydney as interfering with his metropolitanical rights, legal or ecclesiastical. Such are

some of the difficulties which connection of these dioceses with the established Church of England, as *integral* parts of it, would introduce; binding us to rigid uniformity and compliance with its rubrics, as well as to whatever should emanate hereafter from the Houses of Convocation of Canterbury and York, when sanctioned by Parliament; although the Colonial Church has no voice or representative in either the one body or the other. It may be asked, perhaps, if each colony when grouped into dioceses is to have its own metropolitan and become a separate province, how is union and uniformity in doctrine and worship to be preserved throughout the Australian and other provinces of the Anglican Church? With a common liturgy, common formularies of faith, a common Bible, and common spirit of loyalty to the mother Church, there is little reason to fear that the Church in Australia or elsewhere will diverge from 'the old paths.' The constraining force of legal jurisdiction granted by the Crown has indeed ceased. It cannot be replaced by an oath of 'due obedience' and reverence to the see of Canterbury, imposed on the bishops of Australian sees without the knowledge or assent of the various provincial churches themselves. And who is to determine what is due or what canonical in their obligation? In the late General Synod the authority of a Nicene Canon was quoted, relating to the then metropolitical cities of the Roman empire, and it was argued that therefore the civil division of the British-colonial empire should be strictly followed in the erection of provinces and the seat of metropolitans. It is obvious to reply that Sydney is not the metropolis of Australia. The other colonies are equally autonomous. Accordingly the office of primate was made personal, and not tied to any one city as the

metropolis of all Australia and Tasmania.* Moreover, the subordination of the Australian metropolitans, first to their own primate, and second to the *quasi* patriarch of Canterbury, is a matter at any rate for compact, and not of civil or ecclesiastical decree. The legal claims of the bishop of Sydney having now failed, the time is come for the adjustment of these relations. Had the see of Melbourne been filled at an earlier period, the General Synod would probably have been convened at Melbourne, and local feeling might possibly have less obstructed the discussions.

“The real question, however, involved lies deeper. ‘What is the connection between the branches of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, and what the due subordination of the several sees?’ While the Church of Rome claims for its chief pastor the right to give law to the city of Rome and to the world, *urbi et orbi*, the various Churches of the East and West, reformed or otherwise, simply regard the bishop of that see as one of the college of bishops of the Universal Church, *primus* in point of precedency, but *inter pares* as regards episcopal authority. England’s national independence of the Papacy, and its reformed State Church, emphasize this principle of episcopal equality. To a general synod of the Universal Church alone belongs the power of framing canons (for against it ‘the gates of hell shall not prevail’) morally binding on all Christians. Of course such canons can have no *legal* force in any country without the consent of the civil power. The reformation of the Church in England proceeded on this principle; and in that fierce struggle for religious freedom both in matters of doctrine

* At the General Synod Session of 1881 the primacy of Australia and Tasmania was permanently attached to Sydney. —F. T. W.

and of Church government, it may be that the civil power encroached somewhat on the spiritual liberty of the Church. The appeal from the bishop's court in all ecclesiastical cases, many of which were of a mixed spiritual and temporal character, was transferred from the Pope to the Crown. For more than three hundred years this has been the admitted status of the Anglican Church. The Act 24 Henry VIII., c. 12, A.D. 1532, made the Upper House of Convocation the final Court of Appeal. But 25 Henry VIII., c. 19, and Elizabeth c. 1, were Acts for restraint of appeals to the see of Rome; the submission of the clergy; and the appointment of the Court of Delegates in the High Court of Chancery. In 1832 the powers of the Court of Delegates was transferred by 2 and 3 William IV., c. 92, to his Majesty in Council. Hence the Judicial Court of Privy Council, of which all bishops, that is being Privy Councillors, were made members by the Church Discipline Act of 3 and 4 Victoria, c. 86. This again has been superseded, as the final Court of Appeal, by Her Majesty's High Court of Justice, which came into operation in November 1875, in which the bishops sit not as judges but as assessors."

But the bishop was not content with clearly putting the issues before his own synod, and so he printed a long letter, which he had addressed to Canon Allwood of Sydney, in which he reviewed the whole question of the metropolitanate. Only one or two extracts, dealing with points not touched on in the foregoing comments on the question, can be given:—"It may be fairly asked, however," writes the bishop, "if the metropolitan authority over suffragan bishops has thus lapsed through the inability of the Crown to grant it, what is there to keep the colonial dioceses sound in the faith, and

steadfast members of the Anglican Church? 'The whole body of the Church,' according to the Collect for Good Friday, 'is governed and sanctified' by the Holy Spirit. I know not, then, why colonial dioceses and synods—diocesan and general—should not be preserved from vital error, or sectarian non-conformity, by a higher and stronger influence than an assumption of doubtful legality, on which the metropolitane rights of the see of Sydney over Australia and Tasmania appear to rest! Moreover, by *compact* they have *incorporated* themselves under colonial ordinance as members of the Church of England; they have placed their ecclesiastical property in *trust* for the use of a body so designated. The civil courts of the colony, therefore, will enforce such trusts according to the doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, and laws of the Church of England, and that too, as interpreted by the courts at Home—so far, at least, as those laws are applicable to the colonies. In all such cases, therefore, the Supreme Court of Appeal in England will decide for the Colonial Church as well as for the Established Church. I would also call attention to the fact that at the present time, neither in ritual nor in doctrine, are the extremes noticeable in the mother country to be found in the whole of Australasia. The lay element introduced into all our synods has had, perhaps, a beneficial tendency to repress such excesses. At a time, too, when the Church of Natal is cumbered with a prelate whom forty English bishops have pronounced unfit to occupy the pulpits of their dioceses—who, nevertheless, maintains his official position and revenues by virtue of English ecclesiastical law and the judgment of Lord Romilly—it is strange that the colonial churches should be invited voluntarily to place themselves under such jurisdiction, or to accept the exposition

of the Crown's supremacy given by the Master of the Rolls.

"In case, however, the legal tie of letters patent should prove ineffectual, another mode of 'forging the missing link' has been resorted to. I regret to observe it, because it is of doubtful policy, and not in accordance with primitive Church usage. It is this: to get every colonial bishop on his consecration to take an oath of 'due reverence and obedience' to the archbishop of Canterbury and that metropolitical see. This is to supersede or override the oath of obedience in things lawful and canonical to the metropolitan of each colonial province. That this is of doubtful policy might be suspected from the growth of the Papacy, and the possibility of future collision—when millions of Anglo-Saxons people the vast territories of Australasia—between the Colonial and the Lambeth obligation. Moreover, it is contrary to primitive usage. This is evident from the independent jurisdictions of York, Armagh, Dublin, and St. Andrew's, the primates of which provinces owe no 'obedience' to the metropolitical see of Canterbury. The latter archbishop, the Primate of all England, is only *primus inter pares*; nor does the senior bishop of the Episcopal Church of America, or the Primus of Scotland, bind himself to obey his counsel or admonitions. Why, then, should colonial metropolitans be more strictly bound? Perhaps the oath itself comes under the category of 'needless' oaths, and lies within the scope of the injunction—'Swear not at all.' It is plainly a snare for the conscience, for who has defined or can define what is 'due obedience' and who is to be the judge in the last resort? It should be observed, also, that this practice of requiring the oath of obedience to the see of Canterbury

has been resorted to *only of late* and by Archbishop Tait. His predecessors, Sumner and Longley, consecrated no less than eight bishops for the African dioceses, all of whom correctly took the oath of 'due reverence and obedience' to the metropolitan of Capetown. The creation of such metropolitan provinces, by letters patent in the colonies, has since been pronounced *ultra vires*; but it does not appear by what *law*, and why, without the assent or approval of the colonial dioceses and provinces, the archbishop has assumed to himself this power.

"It would, however, appear that the archbishop has acted in this matter not without some external influence. From the primate's address we learn that he has held a private *consulta*, consisting of the ex-bishop of Melbourne (Dr. Perry) and his successor (Dr. Moorhouse), the dean of Sydney, and Mr. A. Gordon, upon the question 'whether it is competent for the bishop of Sydney, as metropolitan by letters patent, to *resign* any portion of the metropolitan province' so created? If Lord Romilly is right, it seems obvious that he cannot surrender his own or his successors' rights without the permission of the Crown, and the issue of new letters patent limiting and defining afresh his metropolitanical provinces. His Grace of Canterbury seems to have taken the correct view: for he 'understands that a new province can *now* only be made by a voluntary arrangement of the Australian dioceses.' With this view, he should have paused until he had enquired whether the parties who were consulting him had received authority from the dioceses concerned or affected by the metropolitanical authority, or if they had instructed these gentlemen to act on their behalf. Nor is it correct to call the position in which the Anglican Communion in Australia has been placed by the action of

the Crown and the decisions of the Privy Council, as an 'act of disruption' on their part from the Church of England; or to suggest that the dioceses of Australia, left without the pale, so to speak, of the establishment in England, have 'broken away' from the mother Church. On the contrary, they have been *abandoned*—left to their own counsels and discretion; nor in this liberty have they in any way disgraced their mother Church. Not more truly can it be said that they are desirous of *disunion*, or in any way unmindful of the manifold claims to respect which the Church of England undoubtedly possesses. They are not unwilling, I am persuaded, to consider and adopt any well-digested plan whereby the union with the mother Church can be preserved and strengthened. But they are not prepared to surrender their colonial liberty of action, and submit themselves, bound hand and foot, to the autocratic rule of a metropolitan authority not based on law. Too much of that has shown itself, both in the first and second sessions of the General Synod."

Yet while he so strongly contended for the voluntary basis and autonomous powers of the General Synod, the bishop—with that faith in synodical government which he had shown by introducing it into his own diocese—very warmly approved of federal diocesan union, and in addressing the standing committee of the Adelaide Synod after the 1872 Sydney Conference, he used most appreciative language:—"The Church of the ten* dioceses of Australia and Tasmania," said the bishop, "is now one in faith, discipline, worship, usage, and ecclesiastical law. It has its own Committee of Appeals, which enjoys the privilege

* There are now twelve bishoprics on the mainland of Australia, and these, together with the small island see of Tasmania, give a total of thirteen dioceses united in the General Synod.—F. T. W.

of consulting certain members of the Privy Council to guide its judgment in doubtful cases. Thus united and free, but not disposed to use its liberty for a cloak of evil, we trust, under the blessing of God, it will take root downwards, and bear fruit upwards in this portion of the British empire from generation to generation."

And here may be given the authoritative statement of the scope and jurisdiction of the General Synod as settled at the time of its institution in 1872. By the eighth article adopted in that session the Synod is declared to have "power to make Determinations upon and in respect of the following matters and things concerning the order and good government of the Church, that is to say—1. The constitution of an appellate tribunal and a tribunal for the trial of bishops. 2. The framing of general rules for the formation of new dioceses and provinces. 3. The making of rules for the confirmation and due consecration of future bishops and the election or appointment of future primates. 4. The communicating with the authorities of the Church in England and in the various colonies on matters relating to the general well-being of the Church. 5. The taking of measures for promoting inter-communion with other reformed episcopal churches so far as is consistent with the principles of the Church of England. 6. The regulating of the relations of the Church to other branches of the Church of Christ. 7. The promoting of the cause of Home and Foreign Missions in the Church. 8. The consulting upon any matters which may be brought before the Synod affecting the well-being of the Church, and framing regulations thereon: Provided always that no Determination of the General Synod shall be binding upon the Church in any diocese unless and until such Determination shall be accepted by the Church in such diocese:

And the mode of accepting in any diocese the Determinations of the General Synod shall be laid down by the Church in such diocese." It is only necessary to add, in order to convey an idea of the Synod and its working, that it consists of two parts—the house of bishops, and the house of clerical and lay representatives. Both of these sit and deliberate together, but the votes are taken separately.

At the third meeting of General Synod at Sydney in 1881 some important additions were made to its constitution. The primate—Bishop Barker—and the bishop of Adelaide had both retired to England, and a pleasing feature of the Synod's proceedings was the cordial adoption of a message to the aged and infirm prelates conveying to them assurances of earnest sympathy, and prayers for the Divine blessing upon their closing years. After lengthy debate, it was decided to permanently attach the primacy to the see of Sydney, but that the election to that bishopric should be made out of three names selected in the first instance by the Sydney Synod and sent on to the bishops of the province of New South Wales, who have the right of nominating two out of the three to the bishops of the General Synod, with whom rests the ultimate choice. An alternative course permits the diocese to appoint a committee to act with the provincial bishops and the other prelates in an election of the bishop by concurrent majorities. Among other matters of great interest which the Synod disposed of in its third session were the settling of rules for the formation of provinces, the election of metropolitans, and the constitution of provincial synods. Much attention was also given to an elaborate determination designed to regulate the trial of bishops.

In due course, the General Synod met again in 1886 and great interest was felt in the session because of its being

held under the presidency of Bishop Barry, and, further, because half of the episcopal bench present, inclusive of the primate, had taken up the work of the Church in Australia since the preceding meeting of General Synod. The presence of Bishops Kennion (Adelaide), Sandford (Tasmania), Webber (Brisbane), and Linton (Riverina) could not but have filled the representatives of the Australian Church with a sense of profound gratefulness that the true Chief Bishop had given such pastors to His flock. The three absentee bishops were accounted for by the sees of Melbourne and Bathurst being vacant, and the bishop of Perth having gone on a visit to England. About fifty clerical and thirty lay representatives were present. The new primate—as was of course expected—quite rose to the dignity of the position, and his opening address made a deep impression from the breadth of its grasp no less than by the eloquence of its diction. The actual position of the synod he very happily described as being “in itself a plain ecclesiastical anomaly, only accounted for and partially excused by the irregularities of the historic growth of our Church in this country—that it has *auctoritas* rather than *potestas*, a moral authority, which does not become legal power till its decrees have been accepted by the diocesan synods. I venture to think that this strange peculiarity of its constitution suggests the nature of its true function. It necessarily turns the deliberations of the synod from details of legal regulation, and from the lesser every-day matters of Church order, to the larger and deeper questions, which are determined, not so much by the law as by the public opinion of the Church, and on which it is more feasible and important to enunciate principles than to formulate rules.”

The proper way of dealing with these ‘larger and

deeper questions' was suggested, the primate urged, "by the true ecclesiastical position of our synod itself. It represents a Church, so far like the group of colonies to which it corresponds, that it is virtually in many respects independent, having its own constitution and government, its own characteristics and its own duties; yet, on the other hand, a Church which is but one branch of the great Anglican Communion, looking first to the primacy of Canterbury and to the law and order of the Church at home, and looking on still further to the general representation of the whole body in the periodical Lambeth Conference. On some questions, therefore, it may, if it will, resolve absolutely: on others, remembering the fundamental Constitution, which binds us in a free and willing allegiance to the Liturgy, the Articles, and the general order of the Church in England, it cannot act except in conjunction with the Church at home and the other colonial churches. But yet on these it need not shrink from all action. There can be no reason why it should not express its deliberate opinion, in the name of the branch of our Church which it does represent—communicating that opinion for consideration by the wisdom of synodical authority in England—submitting it, if it be thought well, to the great council of the whole Anglican Communion gathered at Lambeth. In such initiation there is no presumption. If we are as yet far from being able to approach to any equality in richness of learning, ability, and authority with the Church of the old country, yet there are circumstances in our experience here which not only force great questions rapidly upon us, but may perhaps not unfrequently suggest their solution. There are legal complications and embarrassments connected with the relation to the State, from which we are free;

and perhaps it may be sometimes well that the risk of initiation be taken by the lesser bodies, while the weightier authority of the greater is reserved for thoughtful judgment and final determination. The old maxim *juniores ad labores* may well apply to churches as well as to individuals."

In the political life of Australia there is a growing disposition towards colonial federation, but it is obvious that many a nice question touching provincial rights and responsibilities will need to be settled before the generally accepted broad principle develops into an accomplished fact. It has been with much reason claimed for the Church that in the constitution of the General Synod she is in the van of the federation movement, and has laid down some lines of federal action which the several States might wisely follow.

At the last session of General Synod, the strong impress which Bishop Short's powerful individuality has left on his diocese appeared to receive amusing confirmation. It is easy to gather from the bishop's attitude towards the federated synodical movement, that while he heartily welcomed extended corporate action in the Church, he yet very jealously guarded the Catholic principle that a diocese is complete in itself. On nearly every subject debated at the 1886 session in which this principle was involved the delegates from Adelaide seemed to present an almost united front on the side of diocesan autonomy as against increasing the influence of the General Synod over the several dioceses. So distinctly did this spirit manifest itself that a distinguished member of the synod yclept the Adelaide representatives *the Home Rulers !*

CHAPTER XII.

NONCONFORMITY AND CHURCH PARTIES.

IT must assuredly be no small part of the burden of the episcopate that those who are called to the office of oversight in the Church often have to curb very strong personal convictions, and exercise a self-controlling moderation in dealing with the many phases of human thought and opinion. In the ultra freedom of colonial life these many phases find most unrestrained expression, and hence the need is greater for those who influence and mould public opinion to be especially careful lest ultimate good be hindered by their wilfulness or precipitancy of action. To one naturally so candid, outspoken, and impetuous as Bishop Short, the restraint he would almost continuously have had to put upon himself in his relations with those who differed from him must indeed have proved a cause of much anxious solicitude. And the peculiar circumstances of the colony in which he did his work rendered him as a bishop specially liable to be brought into conflict with the people, because of the community having been confessedly brought together under a pledge of, at any rate, passive opposition to that faith over which the State had in England thrown its sheltering ægis.

Within the first year of his landing in South Australia the bishop had to declare his attitude towards nonconformists (as they may, it is hoped without offence,

be called in the absence of any distinctive name which is unobjectionable to them), for in the August of 1848 he received an invitation from the Lutheran pastor in Adelaide to subscribe towards building a place of worship for that body. The bishop's response was courteous and yet unmistakeably definite:—

Kensington, August 21, 1848.

To the Rev. Mr. Klose, Adelaide.

The Bishop of Adelaide begs to inform Mr. Klose that he will be happy to contribute five pounds towards the erection of a church for Lutheran worship. At the same time he would bring under his notice the following considerations:

The Lutheran Church, adhering to the Confession of Augsburg, has always been an object of respect and sympathy to the Church of England. Excommunicated like itself by the see of Rome, Luther and his adherents neither in act or intention were guilty of heresy or schism. Left without bishops, Luther confessed and deplored the imperfect ecclesiastical organization of his communion, and viewed it only as provisional. Hence the title of 'pastor' (instead of priest or deacon) borne by those who were necessitated to carry on the ministry of the Word and sacraments without episcopal ordination. This provisional state might have been removed through the Protestant Episcopal Church of Sweden, especially as that country under Gustavus Adolphus defended the liberties, civil and religious, of Protestant Germany in the Thirty Years' War. The troubles, however, of that time and other reasons may have co-operated to prevent the return of the Lutheran Church to the apostolic form of Church government received in all churches for fifteen centuries.

The Church of England, however, viewing the difficulties in which both the Lutheran and Reformed congregations were unavoidably placed, both as to their Orders and Sacraments, has never refused communion to the members of those churches, though imperfectly constituted. But on the other hand it has never ceased to hope and pray that the time will come when they will be led in the Providence of God to replace themselves in possession of the full apostolic organization of the Church Catholic.

In what light, then, the Church of England views the Lutheran Church in *Germany*, still adhering to the Confession of Augsburg, is evident; but the position of single congregations placed in an *English*

colony in which there is an Episcopate lawfully and canonically instituted by the authorities civil and ecclesiastical of the Church of England, is somewhat different. From personal respect and ancient sympathy, the bishop of Adelaide will contribute to the erection of a place of worship for members of the Lutheran congregation, but he would not have it hence inferred that he is indifferent to the discipline, any more than to the doctrine, of the Catholic Apostolic Church, or that he can acquit of sinfulness a fixed and organized state of separation.

Praying that the blessing of God may rest on the Lutheran congregation and its pastor, the bishop of Adelaide desires to remain their faithful friend and well-wisher in the Lord.

The position which the bishop thus took, of respect for individual conviction but loyalty to Church order, would appear to have gradually been recognised by the people amongst whom he lived, for he seems for many years to have gone on building up the Church without any very serious collision with his nonconformist fellow colonists. But on the occasion of the visit to Adelaide of the renowned Congregationalist preacher, the Rev. Thomas Binney, the whole subject of the relation of the Church to nonconformists was violently stirred up. Mr. Binney reached the colony in the August of 1858, and on the 26th of that month the bishop's diary says: "At home all day expecting a possible call from Mr. Binney. . . In the evening to Government-house. There were about two hundred and fifty people of all sects and sections of society present. I was introduced by Mr. Davenport to Mr. Binney, who is a superior man in mind, appearance, and manners, not overweening, not puritanical, but a good, able, nice, clever man—the Christian and the gentleman united." The next day's diary entry notes: "Drove the girls and boys to Claremont—the residence of Mr. (now Sir) Samuel Davenport—to call on Mr. Binney. I found him and Mrs. Binney as nice as yesterday—she pleasing and intelligent.

Indeed I am thankful that Church prejudices do not in this colony, as in England, hinder such intercourse with such men—*de facto*, if not *de jure*, ministers—and able ones—of the New Testament.” Three days later the bishop records: “Mr. and Mrs. Binney called at Bishop’s Court with Mr. Davenport and Mrs. Cleland. They were much pleased with our drawing-room, and with the library especially. Said Mr. Binney: ‘Well, it is suitable for a bishop’s residence. The late archbishop of Canterbury told me once that I ought to be a bishop.’ I replied: ‘I wish with all my heart you were.’ On going into the hall he took up one of my hats and put it on his head, or rather only on the top of it, for his head was much bigger than mine, and said, smiling: ‘I want one of your hats.’ I replied: ‘You shall have my hat if you will give me your head!’ And so the visit ended, I hope having done somewhat to smooth away religious prejudices.” These extracts at any rate show that the bishop did not adopt a line of social isolation towards the distinguished Congregationalist, but that on the contrary he seems to have treated Mr. Binney with much cordiality. Within a short time of Mr. Binney’s arrival at Adelaide, the bishop received a letter from Mr. (now Chief Justice) S. J. Way, the then honorary secretary of the South Australian Sunday School Teachers’ Union, asking his lordship to receive a deputation from the committee of the Union, who desired to invite him to preside at ‘a lecture about to be delivered on behalf of this institution by the Rev. Thomas Binney, of London.’ This invitation appears to have been the innocent cause of striking the key-note of a prolonged theological controversy, and therefore the bishop’s answer to it should be given:

Bishop's Court, September 10, 1858.

Sir—I am sensible of the compliment paid me, whether personally or officially, by the committee of the South Australian Sunday School Teachers' Union, in offering to depute some of its members to request me to preside at a lecture about to be delivered by the Rev. Thomas Binney 'on behalf of this institution.' Allow me to assure the committee, that as a powerful advocate of orthodox evangelical Christianity, I highly respect Mr. Binney—a respect which a slight personal acquaintance has tended to increase.

Had it, in my view, been consistent with the acknowledged principles of the Church of England, and an honest adherence to them, I should have hastened to invite Mr. Binney to preach to our congregations; but such is not the case, and I can only wish that the work, to which he and others believe him to be duly called, may prosper in his hands.

For a like reason, I have felt it to be beyond my power to join the Sunday School Teachers' Union. The congregations to which those teachers belong have separated in time past from the Church of England, on some not unimportant points of doctrine and discipline. They still differ in their views and teaching respecting the Sacraments and Ministry. I can only make common ground with them by abandoning or ignoring the practice and principles of the Church, over which I have been called to be an overseer. It would be inconsistent, and not of 'faith' in me so to do, nor can I sanction in others what I disapprove in regard to myself.

For these reasons, I regret to be obliged to decline receiving a deputation from the committee, not being prepared to join the Union, for the *special benefit*, of which Mr. Binney has been invited to lecture.

I remain, sir, yours very faithfully,

AUGUSTUS ADELAIDE.

S. J. Way, Esq.

Probably the bishop guessed that this letter would form the subject of a good deal of comment, and this, it may be reasonably supposed, formed some part of the inducement which led him to address to the great nonconformist divine a very long and elaborate letter on the question as to the possibility of the division between the Church and Nonconformity being at least partly healed and some measure of intercommunion established. The formal letter was accompanied by a pleasant little note:

Bishop's Court, October 4, 1858.

Dear Sir—I send you some thoughts which have occurred to me on a subject which has often occupied my mind, but more especially since I had the pleasure of forming your acquaintance. Such as they are, and expressed in the words pretty nearly which came first to hand, I lay them before you in the hope that they will not widen, if they do not bridge, the gap that separates us ecclesiastically, though I trust not spiritually, nor for ever.

I remain, reverend sir, yours faithfully,

AUGUSTUS ADELAIDE.

Rev. T. Binney.

P.S.—I leave Adelaide to-morrow morning on a five weeks' tour, and fear that I shall not have an opportunity of bidding you farewell.

It will not be possible to give *in extenso* the lengthy correspondence of which this note was the forerunner, but portion of it—including, it is hoped, all its leading features—is subjoined, so that a clear idea of the controversy may be obtained.

The bishop in his introductory letter said: “. . . . I am truly glad that so considerable a person as yourself should by your presence in this colony have forced me to consider again the question, ‘Why I could not invite you to preach to our congregations; to review my position, principles, beliefs, and prepossessions; more especially as the absence of sectarian prejudice on your part, and the presence of all that in social life can conciliate esteem and admiration, reduced the question to its simple ecclesiastical dimensions.’ Again and again the thought occurred to me, *Talis cum sis utinam noster esses!* Still I felt that neither the power of your intellect, nor vigour of your reasoning, nor mighty eloquence, nor purity of life, nor suavity of manners, nor soundness in the faith would justify me in departing from the rule of the Church of England—a tradition of eighteen centuries—which declares your orders irregular, your mission the offspring of

division, and your Church system—I will not say schism—but *dichostasy*.* But, while adhering to this conclusion, I am free to confess that my feelings kick against my judgment; and I am compelled to ask myself: Is this ‘standing apart’ to continue for ever? Is division to pass from functional disease into the structural type of Church organization? Are the Lutheran, the Presbyterian and Congregationalist, the Baptist and Wesleyan bodies to continue separate from the episcopal communion so long as the world endureth? Is there no possibility of accommodation, no hope of sympathy, no yearning for union? Will no one even ask the question? None make the first move? Must we be content with that poor substitute for apostolic fellowship in the Gospel, ‘Let us agree to differ;’ or an evangelical alliance which, transient and incomplete, betrays a sense of want without satisfying the craving? Or are we reduced to the sad conclusion that as there can be no peace with Rome, so long as she obscures the truth of Jesus and lords it over God’s heritage, so there are no common terms on which the evangelical Protestant churches can agree, after eliminating errors and evils against which each has felt itself constrained to protest? Are not churchmen, for example, at this day just as ready as you, reverend sir, can be to condemn the treatment of Baxter, Bunyan, and Defoe by a High Church Government? And do not Independents and Presbyterians readily allow that a Leighton or Ken relieve episcopacy from the odium brought upon it by the severities of a Laud or a Sharp?

“The questions I would propose for consideration are—
1st. Whether an outward union, supposing no essential truth of the Gospel to be compromised, is desirable

* Galatians v. 20—‘Seditious;’ literally ‘standing apart.’

amongst the Protestant evangelical churches? 2nd. What are the principles and conditions on which such union should be effected?

“With regard to the first point, I conceive outward union to be desirable, because it appears to me to be scriptural and apostolic. That all the congregations of the Universal Church were subject under Christ to the twelve apostles, and that the decree directed by the Holy Ghost, but framed by James, with Simon Peter, Paul, and Barnabas, and assented to by ‘the elders and brethren,’ was delivered to the churches to keep, is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. That the whole Church was viewed as one visible body by St. Paul is evident when he bids the Corinthians give offence to neither Jews nor Gentiles, nor the Church of God; and whatever be the figure under which the Holy Spirit characterises the body of true believers in Christ, unity of organised life is the substratum of the idea; be it in vine or olive tree, family or household, city or kingdom, the body or spouse of Christ, the thought is still the same. What, then, should we think of a family whose several members, inhabiting the same house, kept each to his own chamber, and though continually jostling on the common stairs, rarely exchanged a friendly salute and never a visit? Is this family life? And is it true Church life to say I am of Peter, and I am of Paul, and I of Luther, and I of Knox, and I of Wesley, and I of Whitfield, and I of the Fathers? Are we not carnal, and speak as men? In the apostolic age there must have been outward union of the churches, so far at least as the general order of a common worship, the celebration of common sacraments, the profession of a common creed, and preaching in common the Word of Life! The spirit of Diotrephes we may hope was rare. . . .

“The union I contemplate is not a yoke of subjection—an iron rule suppressive of individual or sectional thought, aspiration, energy, and action; far otherwise. If the great Apostle of the Gentiles would provoke his brethren after the flesh to jealousy in order to ‘save some’—if he stirred up the churches of Macedonia by the forwardness of Achaia and reciprocally urged the Achaian churches to be ready with their contributions lest he should be ashamed of his ‘boasting’ concerning them—certainly a loving zeal striving for the mastery is not to be cast out as unmeet for the Christian commonwealth. Unity is compatible with variety, and variety is pregnant of competition. God has created but one vertebrate type of animal organisms; but how infinitely diversified are the specific forms? I know no reason why in our reformed branch of the Catholic Church there might not be particular congregations of the Wesleyan rule, or some other method of internal discipline or usage or form of worship, even as the Society of Ignatius Loyola, or Dominic, or Francis exists in the bosom of the Roman obedience. The seamless coat of the Redeemer was woven from the top throughout. The Roman soldiers said, ‘Let us not rend it.’ Why should chronic disunion be the symbol of evangelical Christianity? I cannot call alliance union; nay, it is founded on stereotyped separations.

“I pass to the second question:—What are the principles and conditions on which a union of the Protestant evangelical churches should be effected?

“It must be evident, I should suppose, after an experience of three hundred years, that neither the Episcopalian, nor Presbyterian, nor Congregationalist can reasonably hope to force upon the Christian world his own particular system. Is either one or the other entitled by

the Word of God to exclude from salvation those believers who do not follow the same rule of Church government? If, however, submission may not be demanded on the ground of its necessity to salvation, then any negotiation for outward union may and must proceed on grounds of what is best and wisest, most likely to unite, as being most in accordance with Scripture and apostolic tradition! We must lay aside hard words—‘schism, Church authority, sectarianism.’ In the comity of nations *de facto* Governments are recognised and treated with; the question whether they are *de jure* is left in abeyance. So must it be with respect to any union of the churches. They must meet together like brethren who have been long estranged, yet retaining the strong affection of early youth; resolve to forget the subject of their dispute, and walk together in the house of God as friends. It will be unnecessary to ask ‘Which man did sin—this man or his parents?’ or to say ‘Thou wast altogether born in sin, and dost thou teach us?’ or ‘We forbid him, because he followeth not us.’ No; we must meet in the spirit of godly fear, of mutual respect, with the earnest desire by all right concession to promote God’s truth, and advance Christ’s kingdom. We must ‘receive one another, but not to doubtful disputations.’

“A second principle is, ‘Whereto we have attained,’ or shall attain—that some rule may be publicly acknowledged—in that rule we must walk and by it steadfastly abide.

“I firmly believe with Mr. Maurice, in his ‘Kingdom of Christ,’ that the Church of the apostolic age embraced every principle for which in later times each section of the Christian world has felt it necessary to contend, even to separation from the main body of the brethren. But the Church of the apostolic age, the true visible model Church, does more. It harmonises them all; giving to each its due

place, its real proportion. Each portion of the truth, obscured, distorted, or denied in the mediæval Church, each detail of the outward building of God, has been jealously rescued from corruption or decay by sects or individuals. It remains, perhaps, for this or the coming generation to restore the original fabric, and take away whatever is inappropriate, unsightly, or inconvenient. But is the spirit as yet willing? Alas, I know not. It is certain that the flesh is weak. . . .

“But it is time to draw these general remarks to a close, and define with somewhat more of precision, that Church of the future which is to conciliate all affections and unite all diversities. I scarcely know which to admire most, the pleasantness of the dream, or the fond imagination of the dreamer. Still, let me speak, though it be ‘as a fool.’ My object is not to dictate proceedings, but to suggest consideration; to provoke enquiry, but not force conclusions. And since concession in matters not absolutely essential to salvation or positively enjoined must be the basis of the system adopted by the various evangelical churches, it may be fairly put to me in the language of the proverb—‘Physician, heal thyself.’ I will begin, then, with the Church of England, and will state what it appears to me can be given up for the sake of union. 1. A State nominated Episcopate. 2. Compulsory uniformity of divine worship. . . . I believe the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, and many others among the Thirty-Nine, are allowed on all sides to be Scriptural. I conceive, then, that a settled form of sound words, a deposit of objective faith, would not be deemed a yoke of bondage, but a guide to truth. I conceive, also, in order that all might worship with the understanding as well as the spirit, that certain liturgical offices, such for instance

as the Litany, might form part of the stated services, but not to the exclusion of extempore prayer in connection with the sermon, at the discretion of the preacher. So also in the administration of the sacraments and conferring Holy Orders, a portion of the office might be fixed and invariable, and a portion left to the ministering pastors. . . .

“Assuming the existing ministers of the several denominations to be recognised as *de jure* by their congregations, and *de facto* as such by the Anglican Church, might not the bishops of the latter, supposing the before-mentioned terms of union were agreed upon to take effect prospectively, give the right hand of fellowship to them, that they should go to their own flocks; and *mission* also as *preachers* to the Anglican congregations, when invited by the pastors of the several churches? If the licence of the bishop can authorise even lay readers and preachers, how much more men like yourself, separated to the work of God, eloquent and mighty in the Scriptures! Indeed, I do not feel sure that I should have violated any ecclesiastical law in force in this diocese or province, by inviting you to give a word of exhortation to each of our congregations.* In this way, then, of mission without compromise, but on declared assent to ascertain fixed principles and truths, existing ministers might co-operate with us in the preaching of the Gospel, and under the benign influence of this brotherly love a Reformed Catholic Church might grow up, and, like the rod of Aaron, swallow up our sectarian differences. I have said nothing about hypothetical ordination, which has been

* Canon 54 of the province of Canterbury, A.D. 1603-4, requires ‘conformity as a *sine qua non* to preaching in the parish churches of England.’ I do not know that that is binding in colonial dioceses. It shows that persons were licensed to preach who were not disposed to take upon themselves all the obligations of the parish priest under the Establishment.

suggested—like conditional baptism where irregularity in the administration may be suspected—because it savours of evasion or collusion, neither of which is agreeable to Christian simplicity and due reverence for God's ordinances. Neither have I suggested the consecration as bishops of Wesleyan superintendents and Presbyterian moderators, or those who, like yourself, seemed sealed alike by nature and the Spirit to be special overseers in the Church of God. *Mission as preachers* to our congregations, without imposing the obligations incident to the incumbents and curates of churches, but not until full evidence had been given, before licence, of soundness in the faith, would seem to meet the exigencies of the case so far as regards the present generation of ministers who have received Presbyterian orders. . . .”

The fact of the bishop having left town immediately after despatching his *eirenicon* resulted in a somewhat singular development of circumstances, which were detailed by Mr. Binney in his reply—after an interval of more than a fortnight—to the bishop. Two days after the bishop wrote, Mr. Binney delivered a lecture on the life of St. Paul, and, in seconding a vote of thanks to him, Archdeacon Woodcock made an indirect reference to important religious consequences, which, he said, might follow from the visit of the gifted Weigh House Chapel preacher to South Australia. This statement, and the growing publicity of the fact that Mr. Binney had received a letter from the bishop of Adelaide on the subject of a possible healing of the breaches separating the Church from other Christian bodies, soon made the whole question a matter of widespread comment, and letters began to appear in the daily press. But Mr. Binney naturally shrank from publishing the episcopal *eirenicon* without definite permis-

sion. Being at the time a guest at Government-house, he received a request from Governor Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell to be allowed to see the bishop's letter, and he complied upon the condition that the Governor would write such comments upon the *eirenicon* as suggested themselves to him, because—Mr. Binney explained to His Excellency—“ We ecclesiastics, all of us, no matter to what denomination we may belong, are in the habit of looking at certain subjects from a narrow stand-point, and in lights dimmed and darkened by our traditions. I should really like, therefore, if only as a matter of curiosity, to see how the questions raised by his lordship shape themselves to the mind of a liberal and intelligent layman.” Within a day or two, Mr. Binney was, as he puts it, ‘greatly surprised’ by seeing from the newspapers that a memorial, headed by the signature of Governor MacDonnell, addressed to the bishop, was about to be presented to the dean and chapter—the bishop being still absent from the city—from the laity of the Church of England, praying that in the person of the great Independent preacher the Anglican pulpits might be thrown open to nonconformist ministers. Mr. Binney then interviewed the Governor, and found that His Excellency had seen Dean Farrell and Archdeacon Woodcock upon the subject: had read to them the reply that he intended making to Mr. Binney's suggestion that he should express his opinion upon the bishop's letter: and had proposed that the whole correspondence should be at once handed to the newspapers. But Mr. Binney very properly felt reluctant to do this without the bishop's sanction, or some equivalent to it, and he therefore wrote to Archdeacon Woodcock asking whether he would give authority for publication on behalf of the bishop; but the archdeacon replied that, as he had no episcopal instruc-

tions in the matter, he could only say that both the dean and himself agreed with the Governor that it would be a good thing to make the correspondence public. Immediately succeeding the archdeacon's answer came a public breakfast in honour of the distinguished nonconformist visitor to Adelaide, and at it Mr. Binney passed Archdeacon Woodcock's note to Sir Richard MacDonnell with the query—'Could I act on this?' The Governor rejoined—'I should think so, and would recommend it.' Added to the influence of all these events—Mr. Binney explained to the bishop—was the fact that the original episcopal letter was being spoken and written about without an exact knowledge of its contents, and so at last he agreed to pass on all the letters to the daily papers; and then he wrote to Bishop Short narrating the foregoing incidents, which had induced him to adopt that course. Upon the main question at issue Mr. Binney says to the bishop:—

I regret that I cannot append to your letter the thoughts which it has suggested to my own mind, and the remarks which some points in it seem to demand. I propose to give it my best attention, and to embody my reflections and views on the two letters in a small pamphlet, as soon as I can command the requisite leisure. . . . It may not be improper to say one or two things before I conclude, to avoid misconception with respect to myself. A very few words must suffice for the present. I beg, then, to assure your lordship that while I highly admire the kind and Christian feeling that prompted your communication, and cordially sympathise in the desires and the aspirations after more visible union to which you have given utterance, I greatly fear that the 'idea' you entertain and would seek to realise includes too much; and not only too much, but that it has that in its elements which must be softened or lost sight of before it can find acceptance with others. It sometimes has the appearance of the old attempts at 'comprehension,' by which the early nonconformist used to be solicited back again to the episcopal Church; at others, it looks like a wish to form 'a Church of the future' out of a fusion of the different bodies at present existing, all altering something, the result being a new order of

things, in which, however, your ecclesiastical peculiarities shall predominate. Now, without entering into the question as to the likelihood of this being the case (which, however, I think likely), supposing amalgamation and fusion to occur, I content myself with saying that it is premature to indulge in visions of the ultimate, before we have taken such steps as are possible to us—the only steps perhaps that may be possible for years to come. What we need *first*, before anything else can be thought of or hoped is, *not* the absorption by one Church of others—not the conformity of others to it, of the toleration by it of the peculiarities of others, nor yet an attempt to constitute a platform of discipline or service in which all may give up a little (or *much*, perhaps, in some cases) and unite. No, it is not this. First and foremost and *alone* must come the honest and hearty recognition of each other as churches and ministers (*de facto* only, if you like), by the different Protestant evangelical denominations, their members and clergy. Let such recognition be shown by the occasional interchange of pulpits; and let *this*, again, be understood to involve nothing and imply nothing but their substantial oneness in faith, as holding in common the essential truths of the common salvation. The *liberty* thus to invite service would compel no one to invite it, or any to open their pulpits to persons—good men in their way—whom for many reasons it might be inexpedient to receive. Then, again, the *rendering* of service, so far simply as preaching is concerned, should be held to imply nothing on either side beyond the oneness of faith just referred to. Had your lordship, for instance, invited me to preach in the pulpits of your Church, you ought to have been considered as committing yourself to nothing but to the recognition in me of a preacher of that Gospel which we hold in common, and of a minister of Christ according to the constitution of that portion of the Church to which I belong. It is obvious, also, that I could not have been required to receive any *licence* from your lordship; you would not have become my bishop, though you are one in your own communion, and I respect you as such. Those who would have needed your licence would have been your own clergy; *they* might have wanted your permission to act. In the same way, neither you nor they would have been so far compromised as justly to be regarded as giving your sanction to notions or customs among the Congregationalists of which you may disapprove, any more than I, by consenting to preach the Gospel to your flocks, should have been justly supposed by that to profess *anything else*—to accept for instance, that interpretation of your *offices* (I distinguish them from the Liturgy), which involves sentiments which I do not hold; which sentiments, if required to be held and professed, are, in my view,

an adequate ground of clerical nonconformity. No Church, either, whatever, should suppose that it confers a favour on the minister of another by receiving him to its pulpits, but rather that it does what is proper and seemly for itself. When something of this sort is understood and the first step taken in harmony with it, other things will follow. All other things and theories, however, must, I fear, be postponed until this be done. I believe it might be done by very many of the Protestant churches in relation to each other—done without compromise and without dishonour; and that great and blessed results would soon follow from it. That your lordship may have the happiness of helping on so desirable a consummation, and may thus realise that after which your spiritual nature seems to yearn and pant, is the sincere prayer of, my lord, your friend and servant in our common faith—T. BINNEY.

The bishop's answer came from a northern sheep station—Anama—under date November 5:—

Dear and Rev. Sir—On my arrival yesterday at this place I received your note, accompanied by a printed copy of our correspondence. I was fully prepared to see it in print, but forebore to suggest that course, being satisfied that you would choose the proper time and place for so doing. It was, however, rendered necessary by public allusion having been made to my letter, and a correspondent, on no better ground than his own surmises, having thought fit falsely to disparage an eminent lady,* with whom I was not personally acquainted until after I had been consecrated bishop of Adelaide. I should have preferred to receive from you at your leisure the matured conclusions of your judgment on the interesting topic to which I have drawn attention. The discussion, however, has been precipitated, I would fain hope without prejudice to the cause. I must now beg to say a few words explanatory of my impressions on the proceedings which have taken place during my absence.

1. I think it 'untoward' that His Excellency the Governor should have been mixed up with the correspondence between you and myself. Church and State have been separated in this colony, and I know not why an 'official' character should have been given to a memorial concerning the administration of this diocese 'by the signatures of the Governor-in-Chief and Ministers of State.'

2. If I have doubts how far the letter of the Ecclesiastical Statute Law of the Established Church of England is applicable to this or other colonial dioceses, I have none as respects its spirit, nor of the

* Lady Burdett-Coutts, the foundress of the diocese.—F. T. W.

inspired authority of the apostolic tradition of eighteen centuries, on which that law is founded. The evidence even of Jerome, and the argument of Chillingworth, are to my mind conclusive on that head. I could not, therefore, nor can I, feel justified in departing from that traditionary rule, even in your case. Had I felt sure that no Statute Law would have been violated, I should not have transgressed the 'custom' of our Church without first consulting the metropolitan and other bishops of the province of Australasia, as well as the archbishop of Canterbury; consequently I think that I ought not to have been invited by those high in authority in this colony to take a step on my own responsibility, which, though possibly not an actual, would at least have been a virtual, transgression of the law of our Church. You, sir, well enforced the duty of obedience of existing laws in your farewell speech.

3. Having stated why I was unable to invite you to preach to our congregations, I took occasion from thence to urge a consideration of the terms on which *at some future time* possibly that inability might be removed. The indispensable conditions appeared to me to be three:—

a. The acceptance in common by the evangelical churches of the orthodox creed.

b. The use in common of a settled liturgy, though not to the exclusion of free prayer, as provided for in the Directory of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

c. An episcopate freely elected by the united evangelical churches, not (as I have been misapprehended) exclusively by our own.

No notice, however, of these preliminary conditions was taken in the memorial addressed to me. Without them there would be no security against the intrusion even of heretical preachers into our pulpits.

I have now done. The object of my letter to you has been answered. I have drawn attention to the possible future union of evangelical churches; but I have found, like another before me, that there are those who, 'when I speak unto them of peace, make themselves ready to battle.'

Charles V. after his abdication amused himself with trying to make some watches keep time together. Finding his hopes disappointed, he wondered at the folly of his own lifelong endeavours to make men be 'of the same judgment, and walk by the same rule.' My letter certainly has not bridged the ecclesiastical gap which separates us. On the other hand, I do not think it has widened the breach. I am content to bide the time, and allow the leaven to ferment. If the counsel be of God, it cannot be overthrown. Meanwhile, as the evangelical watches, though all professing to be set by the sun, do not seem at present

inclined professedly to go together, I must continue to set mine by the Old Church Clock, which after all is the surest-going timepiece in the world, and as near, perhaps, as any other to the true time of the Sun of Righteousness.

I am, dear sir, truly and respectfully yours,

AUGUSTUS ADELAIDE.

Rev. T. Binney.

Governor MacDonnell's view of the bishop's original letter was very elaborately expressed in response to Mr. Binney's request. Its tenor may be gathered from the following extracts:—"I do not see why we might not at least prepare for united action without waiting to break and fuse all variety of Protestant worship and organization for the purpose of recasting them in a uniform shape from one mould. For my part, though I much prefer the forms of my own Church, I do not object to the organization or practice of the Baptists, the Independents, the Wesleyans, or many other denominations of Protestant Christians. It might perhaps be better if they were all to form one denomination; but I have doubts on that point; whilst it would come nearly to the same thing, if we could but fully regard one another truly as brethren; and if we felt bound to aid one another in all that might develop the pure principles of our common faith, whilst we illustrated them in our practice by works of mutual charity and help. I would, therefore, suggest that we should test the sincerity of our mutual advances either towards union or alliance, by *at once* commencing a more intimate and brotherly intercourse with one another in our schools, our pulpits, and our missions; and that we should thus prepare the way for such a further mutual understanding as may, with God's blessing, fit us hereafter to discuss the question of fusing into one denomination all

the various evangelical sections of Christ's Reformed Church. I would ask, are we to have forever merely a community of faith and not a community of labour in all good works; a brotherhood of doctrine, but not of action? If the Bible be the foundation of our faith, why should any intelligent, pure-minded, and approved Protestant expounder of that Bible be excluded by an ecclesiastical rule or tradition from preaching the doctrines of any Church in one of its places of worship, if invited to do so by the special minister of the building? Is such a union of Christians impossible in carrying on Christian duties? Whenever such interchange of pulpits is permitted, under no restrictions but those which are desirable to ensure fitness of education and character, as well as soundness of doctrine—and I trust a high standard in all those respects will ever be maintained—it will be time enough to meditate on a still more general fusion, in approved ecclesiastical form, of the Protestantism of this and other lands. I do not, however, perceive that the bishop suggests any immediate steps in this direction, although his lordship thinks he might have invited you to exhort the Church of England congregations here 'without violating any ecclesiastical law in force in this diocese or province.' I am only surprised that he did not use this power, when he gives so many reasons why it might have been wisely and usefully exerted in your favour. Those reasons, however, are so well stated by the bishop, that he cannot long resist the conclusion to which they point. Indeed, I consider it fortunate on the whole that you did not arrive here till men's minds, having become reconciled to the abolition of State aid to religion, had begun to feel the necessity and probable advantage of a very different aid, viz., that which might be derived from greater unity of

action among themselves. It is no small sign of progress that the bishop should have stated the case so forcibly, even though he has not yet availed himself of his own argument."

Among the letters with which, as may be imagined, the newspapers were deluged on so generally interesting a subject, a characteristically clever one from the late Dean (then Canon) Russell to Mr. Binney was published, in which the points involved were very clearly put. Said the able writer: "I ask you not to aim, in the name of Christian union, at what will render the likelihood of any visible union among the Protestant churches, more remote than ever. That union must clearly respect all that is essential to the integrity of our polity. Now, according to that polity, there are within our Church three orders of ministers to whom, respectively, peculiar functions are assigned. In so far as certain of these functions are restricted to the several orders, they must prove undoubtedly, however unavoidably, obstacles to visible union—obstacles, however, not arising out of illiberality of sentiment, but out of the necessities of our Church life. But, on the other hand, is there any function of the Christian ministry *common* to *all* these orders, and exercised by the ministers of other Protestant churches? *I think there is ONE.* It is in some sense the greatest, the most responsible, and the most influential of all; that which most stirs the heart to great actions, arouses the soul out of sensual slumbers, and arms the spirit of man for the battle of life, and in the exercise of which the minister of God finds the freest scope for all his faculties. It is, the preaching of the Word of God. In the Church of Rome, even, there were preaching orders with their peculiar discipline, and not restricted to the

general rule of the Church. I, for one, would not be without hope that the general Church of England might be led to adopt a system by which, the liturgy being left untouched, and the ecclesiastical polity being left untouched, the great body of preachers in all Protestant churches might at least be *empowered* to exercise their gift, for the edification of all. In order to the adoption of such a system, however, there must necessarily be a doctrinal basis, but it should be one containing as few dogmatical statements as possible, and limited to the great central facts of Christianity. I should be content with these three—The Bible, the Rule of Faith; the Trinity in Unity; the Incarnation and Sacrifice of Jesus Christ our Lord. Allow me, however, to say most unequivocally that, after careful enquiry, I am satisfied that the laws of our Church would not at present admit of the preaching, in any of our churches, of any minister but the bishop, priest, or deacon, in our understanding of these words. I am sure we ought not to break existing laws. If they appear to need alteration, the alteration must be attempted in a constitutional manner.”

A memorial prepared for presentation to the bishop from a number of his laity, urging that Mr. Binney should be asked to preach from one of the church pulpits, has been more than once referred to in the preceding correspondence, and perhaps it ought to be given as an interestingly historic ecclesiastical document :

Adelaide, October 16, 1858.

To the Lord Bishop of Adelaide—We the undersigned members of the United Church of England and Ireland, attached to her ritual and Church government, yet desiring to promote union and Christian fellowship between the churches agreeing in our common Protestant faith; believing also that your lordship is most desirous of adopting all

measures calculated to extend and establish the common Catholic principles of faith held by the Protestant Church of Christ into whatever sections that Church may be divided, and earnestly desiring to assist your lordship's efforts in that behalf, seize the opportunity now afforded by the presence in Adelaide of a distinguished member of the Church of Christ, to offer a sign of goodwill towards our brethren of the evangelical churches, by requesting your lordship to invite the Rev. Thomas Binney, previous to his departure from Adelaide, to fill one of our pulpits in this city; in the belief that Christian union and Christian love will be thereby promoted and diffused in the hearts of those who, holding like faith in the great saving doctrines of our common religion, have been hitherto kept asunder by differences in matters of form and discipline.

The signatories to this memorial certainly included, besides the Governor, some sixty of the most influential members of the Church of England. As previously mentioned, it was in the first instance laid before the dean and chapter, in consequence of the bishop's absence, but that body very naturally decided that they had no right to take action in a matter of such grave moment, and so the document had to await the bishop's return to town. In the meanwhile, it is not surprising to find that a strong counter memorial, in promoting which Mr. G. W. Hawkes—who still remains in the diocese as one of the most liberal and consistent of churchmen—took an active part, was zealously circulated, and secured nearly three times as many signatures as its predecessor. These gentlemen conveyed to the bishop their "deep regret that a memorial urging the invitation of an unordained minister, and of a denomination in separation from our Church, to teach from her pulpits, should have been addressed to your lordship by certain of her members, professing at the same time attachment to her ritual and government, and to be animated with a desire to promote Christian union on Catholic grounds, and of

aiding your lordship's personal exertions in that great object, and the memorialists added — "we await with every confidence your lordship's determination."

To the original memorial, the bishop sent, through Sir Richard MacDonnell, a brief reply in which he characterised the suggestion made to him as 'impracticable,' and stated that while he recognised that the spirit which prompted it was 'worthy of all respect' he considered 'the obstacles in the way of giving effect to the principle involved in such an invitation little likely, under the present circumstances and views entertained in the various sections of the Protestant Church, to be overcome.' To the counter manifesto an answer at greater length was given, in which the bishop said :—"It seemed to me *possible*, that with the growth of brotherly love among the various portions of the Reformed Orthodox Church, longing for closer union on the basis of the Primitive Church to which, in the language of Bishop Jewel, the Church of England had acceded when she seceded from Rome, might arise. If this is a dream, it is at least as harmless as it is pleasant; but if it be the counsel of God, it will yet be accomplished. Be that as it may, it cannot be brought about by rudely breaking in upon cherished associations, deep-rooted convictions, or even reverend prejudices. From the relations of colonial dioceses to each other and the mother Church, it is plainly the duty as it is the wisdom of each bishop, after he has ascertained the general feeling on any given question of the clergy and laity of his own diocese, to communicate their views to their brother churchmen in the metropolitan province, through the metropolitan and their respective bishops, so that in all matters affecting discipline and worship we may act in common, neither disregarding the

supremacy of the Crown, nor the legitimate authority of the mother Church at home. It is a pleasing thought that the same rule and order of worship which link us with the earliest ages of the Gospel—those generations of martyrs which, by patient suffering, overcame the rulers of the darkness of this world—also associate us with multitudes of fellow-churchmen in more than thirty colonial dioceses, as well as in the vast territories of the United States. I heartily wish that the wise, and good, and able of all evangelical denominations may find it possible hereafter, by the adoption of common principles, to join the great confederacy in the Gospel. I desire no prominence for myself; I claim no dominion for my Church; but if, by the manifestation of kindly feelings, and a just estimate of a really great man, I can in the slightest degree further that object, I do not think I shall have done amiss in writing to Mr. Binney, nor yet have given just ground for imagining that I am willing or able to compromise one single principle or time-honoured characteristic of our reformed branch of the Catholic and Apostolic Church."

It having been announced through the newspapers that a pamphlet would shortly appear containing the whole correspondence which had resulted from Bishop Short's first letter to Mr. Binney, and also a narrative of the events to which it had given rise, together with 'an introductory preface' by Mr. Binney himself, Messrs. Hawkes and Oldham—as the promoters of the second memorial—wrote to the eminent preacher asking that their manifesto and the bishop's reply to it might have a place in the proposed publication. Mr. Binney hastened to answer that he by no means intended that he should be regarded as the moving spirit of the pamphlet, and that as it seemed that

even by writing a prefatory note his position would be misunderstood, he had decided to withdraw from any connection with the intended publication. "Henceforth," Mr. Binney wrote, "I shall stand as I have hitherto done, without being voluntarily mixed up with what others may write or do. My sole concern will be to take an opportunity of communicating directly with his lordship the bishop of Adelaide on the contents of the letters which he kindly addressed to me."

And here the stirring incident in the religious history of South Australia for the time being ended. In his diary, writing at Booyoollee sheep station, in the North, under date November 2, the bishop notes:—"In the evening I read over all the published letters of myself and Mr. Binney. I have nothing to retract. The Governor misrepresented my sentiments: (1) about the election of a bishop—I did not confine it to our Church; (2) because I do not feel sure that I should violate the letter of the law in asking Mr. Binney to preach, it does not follow that I should be right in taking that step without consulting legal authority and conferring with my metropolitan and brother bishops, nor was it right of the Chief Magistrate—the guardian of law—to press me to take such a step; (3) I had expressly demanded adherence to the orthodox creed, acceptance of a liturgy, and allowance of an episcopate, as conditions precedent to such admission to preach—all of which the Governor chose to ignore." A month or two later the famous Congregationalist—in a pamphlet for which he took the bishop's expression, 'The Church of the Future,' as the title—fulfilled his promise to communicate his views on Christian unity to the bishop of Adelaide, and in doing so Mr. Binney insisted that the bishop's terms of intercom-

munion between the Church and nonconformists were prohibitive—if only on the two grounds that admission of the importance of episcopacy, and subscription to a body of *credenda* practically the same as that settled by the Nicene Council, formed the basis of Bishop Short's *eirenicon*. The great Weigh House Chapel orator admitted, however, that under the existing constitution of the Church of England the bishop's terms were the only ones he could rightly offer in loyalty to his own communion. Indeed the absolute fairness of tone adopted by the nonconformist divine deserves special mention. For example, treating of the suggested episcopal constitution of the early Church, Mr. Binney wrote:—"The apostolic churches might be independent of each other, but that did not make each an Independent Church according to the modern type. Doubtless there was a competency and a provision for self-government in each, and each used the liberty it had with rather a high hand, and there could be no interference in the affairs of the Church of one city by the authoritative utterances or action of the presbyter-bishops of that of another. But there was a supervision over many churches, by those who founded them, as we see in Paul. And there was something like the, temporary at least, delegation of his powers to others. And it is a singular circumstance that we have three inspired Epistles addressed to individuals—Timothy and Titus—which, on some theories, were never to find a person, after the first age, to whom they could directly and specially speak. I saw, also, that there was more of every great system of Church government in the apostolic records and customs than the thorough-going advocates of any would confess, and that all had something to learn and unlearn." He added: "The claims of the Church of England as to Succession and Orders would

separate it among Protestants from the rest of the faithful. . . . For myself I am ready to justify Independency as an exceptional system—as a becoming assumption in favour of the individual, the atom.” A long reply from the bishop followed upon Mr. Binney’s pamphlet, and then, writing from the neighbouring colony of Victoria under date December 23, 1858, the great preacher thus happily closed the correspondence:—

I am now between twenty and thirty miles away from Melbourne, at a retired station, in a beautiful locality. A celebrated philosopher and metaphysician used to say that all his great and difficult problems, nice distinctions, and fine theories seemed to vanish into thin air after he had had a good dinner, and was in the company of warm and genial friends. There is something, however, better than this. In the deep solitude of the bush—God’s beautiful world spreading and swelling round about us—His glorious blue heaven bending over us all—one’s heart feels the blessed softening humanizing influence, and goes forth in tenderness and love towards all God’s creatures. How little one heeds the noise of the world of *men* afar off—the struggle of parties, the clashing of opinion, the controversies, political or religious, which seem so important when we are in the midst of them! I wish your lordship were here, sitting with me in the sunlight; how soon we should be able to put everything right! May we meet in that world where there will be nothing to *put* right, and where we shall have something better to do than either to mend or mourn over the evils of this! Wishing you, my lord, in the language of the old country, ‘the compliments of the season’—all the blessings we wish for one another at this happy time, I am, truly and much yours—T. BINNEY.

Whatever may be the view taken of the soundness of the respective positions assumed by the prelate and the preacher in this prolonged controversy, none can fail to admire the high tone of Christian courtesy which both observed throughout the discussion. Evidently neither forgot which is the ‘greatest’ of the cardinal virtues.

It seems a pity that this matter was not allowed to rest where the bishop and Mr. Binney left it, but a movement.

took place in the diocesan synod of 1859 clearly traceable to preceding events. It was Sir Richard MacDonnell who introduced to the synod in a carefully prepared speech the subjoined series of resolutions:—

1. That in the opinion of this synod the time has arrived for promoting Christianity and the spread of evangelical truth in South Australia, by a closer alliance between the branch of Christ's Church which this synod represents and the other Protestant evangelical communions in this colony.

2. That the most expedient course for usefully effecting such alliance appears to be a prompt and hearty recognition on terms of equality of our Protestant Christian evangelical brethren, whether originally sprung from the Anglican Church or not, as being all members of the General Reformed Church of Christ—with whom, therefore, we may safely and usefully ally ourselves in all good works.

3. That as certain difficulties, whether of law or ecclesiastical discipline, may be found to intervene between the members of the Church and the adoption of practical steps desirable for effecting such alliance, a select committee be appointed to consider and report: 1st—As to the best means of establishing such alliance; 2nd—As to the existence and nature of any impediments thereto; and 3rd—To suggest the most expedient steps for removal of all such impediments.

4. That a select committee be now appointed for the above purposes.

The motion was seconded by the then Chief Justice, Sir Charles Cooper, and supported—but mainly on the ground that it only asked for a committee of enquiry—by Dean Farrell and the Revs. A. R. (afterwards Dean) Russell, George H. (now Archdeacon) Farr, D. J. H. Ibbetson, Needham, and James Pollitt. An amendment in the shape of 'the previous question' was moved by a prominent colonist since deceased—Mr. Marshall McDermott—and the Archdeacon of Adelaide (Woodcock) handed in his formal protest on the ground that His Excellency's proposals were subversive of the synodal compact and the

ordination vows of the clergy. The bishop suggested, as a means of amicable settlement, that the subject should be referred to the standing committee of synod, but the Governor declined to adopt this course. Ultimately upon a vote by orders being taken it was found that the clergymen were equally divided, but of the laymen a majority of four opposed the resolutions, which were accordingly shelved by the carrying of the 'previous question,' and so the religious comprehension scheme dropped out of notice in the diocese for many years.

But not only on account of nonconformist brethren, but also from the doings of his own clergy, had Bishop Short to suffer distress, though the provoking cause came from an exactly opposite spirit from that which animated those who opposed the bishop's views in the Binney controversy. No one who intimately knew the first bishop of Adelaide would ever have spoken of him as a profound sacramentarian, or as a ritualist. Bishop Short remained to the end a moderate representative of that early school of Oxford high churchmanship, which was of a literary and doctrinal rather than of a mystic or ceremonial character. But not till quite late in his episcopate did his recognition of the principles of historical Christianity bring him into conflict with the puritan party in his diocese. Towards the close of 1879 some excitement was aroused by a prominent layman, Mr. J. Eldin Moulden—a solicitor—issuing a circular, in which he charged the bishop's domestic chaplain—the Rev. C. C. Elcum—with having endeavoured to disseminate various Romanizing doctrines by giving to a number of Confirmation candidates copies of the well-known manual of devotion, 'The Guide to Heaven.' In this way began a prolonged and heated newspaper controversy upon the alleged growth in the

diocese of what is known as 'ritualistic' teaching, not only the bishop's chaplain being assailed, but also the then headmaster of St. Peter's Collegiate School—now Canon Stanford, of Christ Church, New Zealand—and a number of the parochial clergy. At length a largely-attended public meeting took place, at which Mr. Justice Boucaut presided, and it was resolved—(1) "That it is desirable to form an association to be called 'The Church of England Association of South Australia,' and the objects shall be: to maintain in the Church in South Australia the Protestant principles of the Church of England as by law established: to preserve simplicity of worship and the purity of teaching derived from the Holy Scriptures: to oppose the dissemination in our churches or Sunday schools of doctrines at variance therewith: and to resist the introduction of ritualism and of all changes and innovations in her services which have in England been declared illegal;" (2) "That the signatures of the lay members of the Church of England be obtained to a memorial to his lordship the bishop desiring him to give effect to the views of the memorialists as expressed in the previous resolution." In due course a copy of the following memorial was forwarded to the bishop by the honorary secretary of the newly-formed Church Association, accompanied by a request that his lordship would appoint a time for receiving the deputation who were to lay the memorial before him:

May it please your lordship—Your memorialists observe with regret that ritualistic practices are adopted and doctrines taught in many of the churches of South Australia, some of which have been declared illegal in England, while others are distasteful to the majority of the lay members of the Church.

That the practice of confession to priests is encouraged.

That dogmatic teaching, denying to laymen the right of private

judgment in religious matters, is promulgated to the great annoyance and regret of many enlightened members of the Church.

That a spirit of sacerdotalism calculated to weaken the influence of the Protestant religion is pervading many of the clergy.

That books on religious subjects are being distributed, expressing views that are opposed to the doctrines of our Church.

That in consequence of the foregoing objectionable proceedings, many members of the Church of England have left their Church and joined other denominations.

Your memorialists, recognising the great interest your lordship has evinced in the welfare of the Church in this colony, respectfully desire that your lordship will take all lawful means in your power to prevent the aforesaid objectionable practices and teaching, and that you will exert the strong influence which you possess with the clergy and laity of this diocese to promote the liberal Protestant views adopted by our Church, and the simplicity of worship which has gained for her the strong support of so many earnest Christians since the Reformation.

Trusting that your lordship will recognise the personal respect of your memorialists and their strong desire to preserve the unity of the Church on the only sure foundation, clearly indicated in the Holy Scripture, your memorialists most respectfully subscribe themselves, &c.

To this memorial, it is said, twelve hundred names were appended, but several newspaper correspondents suggested that the signatures were not those of *bona fide* adult Church people. The bishop replied to the Church Association secretary:

Sir—I always have been, and am, ready to confer with members of the Church of England (more especially when they are communicants) who conceive 'that doctrines or practices' at variance with the Prayer-book and Articles as by law established in England are introduced in their congregations or elsewhere by any of my clergy. I have been waiting for many months for such definite charges to be laid before me, that they may be tried by the tribunal to which the clergy have bound themselves to submit.

The memorial which you have forwarded states that 'doctrines and practices which have been declared illegal' in England are 'adopted in many of the churches in South Australia.' The memorialists state that 'they observe with regret' these infractions of the law. They can have no difficulty then in stating definitely—(1) what these infrac-

tions are ; (2) the churches wherein they take place ; and (3) the names of the offending clergy. They can also give the titles of the 'books on religious subjects' expressing views 'opposed to the doctrines of our Church,' and name the clergy 'by whom they are being distributed.' Such distribution is much to be regretted if the books are of the character stated ; but, unless published in the Church during Divine service I doubt whether the distribution of them would be an offence in ecclesiastical law which I could bring to trial. If a deputation of the members of our Church, with whom you are acting, will help me in maintaining the Scriptural purity of the doctrine of our Reformed Anglican Church and its public worship from ritualistic practices declared illegal in England, I shall be thankful for their co-operation.

I have no authority to determine what is tasteful or distasteful to the memorialists, nor leisure to discuss abstract questions concerning 'private judgment,' the right of laymen 'to confess (if they think fit) their sins to their minister,' or the 'spirit of sacerdotalism,' alluded to in the memorial. I am resolved, God helping me, to maintain the Scriptural and evangelical doctrine of our Reformed Church, and the simplicity of its worship as distinct from the Roman, the Lutheran, and the Zwinglian doctrine of worship, guided by the lawful authorities of the Church as by law established in England.

Having solid grounds for believing that the memorial you propose to present is subscribed by very many who are not even nominally members of the Church of England, I must decline to receive it as expressing the opinions of the members of that Church. As far as my knowledge and observation go, it calumniates, while it avoids accusing, many of the clergy, and so fails to furnish me with the grounds of instruction, remonstrance, or reproof. If prepared to furnish me with definite statements on which I can act, I shall willingly confer with you and a few others at Bishop's Court on a day to be named ; but no ground is laid by you why I should take part at a public meeting about your memorial. As an Ecclesiastical Judge I ought not.

I am, faithfully yours,

J. D. Willshire, Esq.

A. ADELAIDE.

The rejoinder from the Church Association 'deeply regretted' the decision of the bishop not to receive the memorial, and expressed the opinion of the committee 'that it is much better to avoid the continuance of ritualistic practices and teaching than to punish those who have hitherto adopted them,' and therefore they urged his

lordship to exercise his influence by 'advising' the clergy, 'rather than that they should run the risk of causing personal unpleasantness and dissension between several clergymen and members of their congregations by laying specific charges against any particular clergyman;' and, finally, the committee thought it a 'matter to be noted that the word Protestant (a term generally distasteful to ritualists)' was absent from his lordship's reply (!) In a lengthy answer, the bishop—after expressing an 'earnest desire to weigh truthfully and equitably the statements made in the memorial,' and stating that he was 'not aware at present of any infraction of the law by the clergy, either in ceremonial or teaching,' said:—

I will offer to my brethren the clergy the following considerations, viz., that things lawful may not be expedient; that even things lawful are not always obligatory; that things even pleasing and tasteful are not necessary for worship in spirit and truth; that charity 'seeketh not her own,' and that it is better not to give offence than divide a congregation on non-necessary points; that the opinion of majorities of the communicants and congregation in vestry assembled should be respected, and minorities also considered; that we should 'follow after the things which make for peace, and whereby we may edify one another.'

In respect to some other points touched on in the memorial, I am quite willing to acknowledge that the committee in their circular intended to confine the signatures to *bona fide* worshippers in the Church of England. I have reason to doubt whether they have succeeded in their design. It would have been easy to get the signatures verified by the wardens of each congregation.

It is affirmed also in the memorial that religious books 'are being distributed' at this time teaching doctrines and practices at variance with the tenets of our Reformed Church. One such book I know was distributed without my knowledge or approval about June 24, 1879. I publicly expressed my disapprobation of parts of that book, and the clergyman who distributed it also stated in a published letter that he did not endorse all its statements, and cautioned those boys to whom he gave the book against them. Is the committee prepared to say that he is still distributing it?

I certainly do not propose to publish an 'Index Expurgatorius' of the books, or parts of them, I deem erroneous, which the booksellers of Adelaide may import, nor limit the private judgment of the clergy as to their distribution of them. I do not believe any of the clergy to be disloyal to the Church of England or double-minded. Still I would advise them, with all the influence I possess, not to raise suspicions as to their loyalty in prejudiced minds, either by the 'ornamenta' of their churches or of their ministerial office itself.

Lastly, you complain that I have not used the word Protestant in my reply. Perhaps the memorialists are not aware that that term is not to be found in the Prayer-book, the Articles, Homilies, or Canons of the Church of England. It was first introduced into the coronation oath of William and Mary, and tendered to them at their coronation; but the memorialists would derive little comfort from the coronation office—which, however, forms no part of the Prayer-book—for the queen is therein directed to 'make her humble adoration before the altar.'

I do, however, sincerely 'protest' against the usurped 'authority of the bishop of Rome, and against Roman accretions on the purity of the Gospel,' but I am not a Protestant of the Colenso or Voysey, Strauss, or Rénan stamp, or of other rationalistic sects which shelter themselves under the name of 'Protestant.' The Church of England is, and has been from the first, a reformed branch of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church, and dates her birth, not from Henry VIII., but, as Dr. Thorold, the ninety-eighth bishop of the see of Rochester, says, 'from a pure mother in a far back time.' With that conviction I received its Orders more than half a century ago, and hope to die in her Scriptural faith and apostolic communion; and while I hold my present office I trust I shall always be ready to defend both her evangelical and catholic character.

Giving all credit to the memorialists for their sincere desire to uphold the truth,

I remain, very faithfully, their servant in the Lord,

A. ADELAIDE.

J. D. Willshire, Esq., Hon. Secretary.


At a meeting of the Church Association the correspondence with the bishop was pronounced 'very unsatisfactory,' and a resolution arrived at to advertise in the public prints calling upon the laity 'to endeavour to prevent ritualistic practices or teaching in the respective

churches, and to secure as much as possible at the ensuing vestry meetings the appointment of synodsmen who might be safely trusted to uphold the Protestant doctrines and practices of the Church.' Some further newspaper correspondence followed, and then the controversy subsided until the next meeting of the synod, when the bishop in his pastoral charge reviewed at length several of the points at issue in the discussion which had taken place. During the session an almost unanimous vote of the synod—called forth by some statements which had been made during the correspondence before referred to—was recorded expressive of 'entire confidence in the Lord Bishop and his administration of the diocese,' and one of the leading members of the Church Association—the Hon. Henry Scott, M.L.C.—in a happily-worded speech supported the resolution and observed that 'although he would not say that he did not differ sometimes from the mature judgment and great ability of his lordship, he was sure he was not only speaking for himself but for ninety-nine out of every hundred churchmen in the colony, when he said that the respect and affection entertained for the bishop had never been exceeded in the case of any bishop in any part of the world.'

So the storm of a long controversy at last passed away, probably not without having done some good to all affected by it, inasmuch as it must have resulted in the clearing away of much misunderstanding, and possibly the establishing of something of that feeling of genuine respect which always follows when combatants come to know that each has been fighting the battle of earnest conviction. All honest discussion, too, yields the valuable fruit of wider views to those who by engaging in it come to see more clearly how many-sided is Truth.

CHAPTER XIII.

LAST DAYS IN AUSTRALIA.

ND now there draws to an end not so much the story of an individual life as a biographical outline which serves to show how it was given to the first bishop of Adelaide to both worthily lay the foundations, in an infant colonial settlement, of an offshoot from the great historic Church of England, and also so to identify himself with the public spirit of the colony that he came to be by general consent regarded as one of its most prominent and honoured residents. Much of genuine pathos surrounded the closing relations of the bishop with scenes and faces amidst which he had moved for half a lifetime. Many months, if not years, before the final separation, by his retirement to England, came, it was evident to all—and most keenly to himself—that his great powers of mind and body were growing swiftly weaker, while the development and expansion of the country were making increased demands upon his energy. Yet did the bishop continue to get through much work, sustained by that temper of combative perseverance which in earlier times had carried him triumphantly over many a difficulty. Only little more than a year before his resignation of the see, he made a missionary tour of more than two hundred miles to fulfil what he must have felt to be some last acts of episcopal duty in the outlying settled districts.

One natural accompaniment of the close of a long public life was a decreasing inclination to insist upon

personal privileges, and a gentler tone in respect to those who differed from him. Of this evidence was given when in 1871 the question arose, in connection with the State levée at Government-house on the Queen's birthday, as to the quasi-official recognition of the bishop's status which was involved in the precedence accorded over the heads of the various nonconformist religious bodies by the right of private *entrée* being granted to him and not to them. Governor Sir James Fergusson relied upon the fact of the Queen's letters patent having been issued for the creation of the bishopric of Adelaide, and decided that he ought to acknowledge the position which the Crown had thereby conferred. On the other hand a strong representation was made that the granting of the letters patent having been declared *ultra vires* by the Privy Council, to concede any official precedence to the bishop infringed the always jealously guarded principle of perfect religious equality, and amounted to at least an indirect recognition of a State Church. The question seemed at one time likely to develop into an angry discussion, but the bishop cut the Gordian knot by voluntarily resigning the special rights he had up to that time enjoyed, and agreeing that the head of every religious denomination in the colony should share with him the privilege of private *entrée* to the Government-house levée. When, in a public speech, reviewing the bishop's colonial career, Mr. Justice Stow (himself the distinguished son of the Rev. T. Q. Stow, the honoured founder of Congregationalism in South Australia) referred to this question he said: "Although his lordship might have relied on the Queen's regulations, and upon the support of the Governor, and in all probability of the Home authorities, at all events to secure to him for his life such position as he had

hitherto held, yet when the House of Assembly passed a resolution indicating the feeling of the people that such precedence should no longer prevail, his lordship gracefully gave up the position, and relieved His Excellency and the Home authorities from the difficulties which might otherwise have attached to them. I need hardly say that that position has been yielded but in name. His lordship has stood higher, if that were possible, in the esteem of the people since, and that pre-eminence has been unanimously granted him to which he is entitled apart from all official status." The bishop's own comment on the matter was unaffectedly simple: "When there was a probability of my position being made the occasion for a quarrel between this country and the Government at home, I thought it was right that no such paltry matter should be used for such a purpose, and I willingly gave up the position. I have been thanked over and over again for the course I took on that occasion, which I cannot understand, as it was simply, I think, the course of any English gentleman." Since Bishop Short's retirement this Precedency Question, as it has always been called, assumed a new phase when objection was taken that the fact of the dean of Adelaide and the archdeacons of the diocese being accorded private *entrée*, together with their bishop, gave undue prominence to the Anglican Church. Bishop Kennion adopted the same line of Christian humility as his predecessor, and decided to withdraw himself altogether from State recognition. The Church of England, therefore, is the only communion unrepresented amongst those who surround the Governor at the levée receptions, the bishop and his clergy attending with the general body of the community to pay their respects to Her Majesty's representative.

Reference has before been made to the occurrence of the bishop's ministerial jubilee, which his own clergy and laity marked by the gift of a handsome brass eagle lectern for use in the cathedral. But some of the colonists thought the occasion worthy of a wider commemoration, and so a public testimonial from the laity of all denominations in the colony was arranged. The presentation took the form of very beautiful candelabra, two flower-stands, and a handsome salver. The former is formed of a gumtree with a grape-vine climbing up the trunk and on to the branches, each of which supports a light. At the foot of the tree are placed the three Graces—Faith, Hope, and Charity—with their appropriate symbols. The whole stands upon a plate of burnished silver, and is about two feet nine inches in height. The two flower vases take the form of elegantly designed tree ferns, with small ferns and figures at the foot supporting the glass dishes. The whole of the articles are of exquisite local manufacture and were described as 'one of the handsomest testimonials ever seen in the colony.' The bishop received this rich gift from his fellow-citizens in the January of 1877, and the late Judge Stow then made an eloquent oration—which has already been quoted from—before a distinguished assemblage, and in the course of his address gave expression to this high eulogium: "In addition to his public services, his lordship in the high social position which he has occupied has shown a blamelessness of conduct which has rendered him a bright example to society generally. Not only will his work be long felt through the public institutions which he has helped to found, but the influence which the contemplation of the good life of a man in a high social position must have upon his fellows will hereafter be more and more apparent. It is not always

that those who are actively labouring in great works, and necessarily are in contention with others on some public matters, receive the general respect and regard which prevail in every section of the community towards the bishop. Perhaps the reason for that feeling of the public towards him is that his demeanour has always been simple, unassuming, and unostentatious; and that a kind and benign spirit has informed his actions and conduct, and there has been presented to the contemplation of the public a character which seems to combine the characteristics and qualities of a devoted priest and Christian minister, a learned divine, a devout and dignified and reverend prelate, a ripe and cultured scholar, and an able, energetic, and highly successful administrator, citizen, and public man, a kindly and polished, manly, and thorough English gentleman." It is evident from the deep feeling which pervades the reply to this conspicuous mark of general esteem, that the bishop was much affected by this spontaneous testimony to the high place he held in the public mind. A silver-mounted emu egg was also provided on the occasion for presentation to Mrs. Short, and this greatly added to the bishop's gratification.

The Lambeth Conference of 1878 took the bishop to England, and he returned to the colony in the February of the following year apparently much refreshed in body as well as in spirit, but the much-tried physical frame of the aged servant of God—now nearing four score years—was beginning to be unequal to the strain which the still vigorous spiritual and mental powers yet desired to put upon it. In the November of 1881, while preaching in Christ Church, North Adelaide, the bishop had a sudden seizure of severe illness, which his doctor pronounced to be owing to valvular weakness of the heart. A trip was

made to Melbourne to allow of a consultation with one of the eminent medical men there. The result is chronicled in the diary:—" . . . Dr. James more seriously impressed with the danger of my condition. . . . It is clear that my work is *done*." After the return to Adelaide, the bishop set to work in calm cheerfulness to order the affairs of the Church in view of the critical condition of his health. Then on Christmas eve his diary entry is: "Having settled affairs of diocese, I am thankful to sing '*nunc dimittis*' with melody of heart." At the ordinary session of synod in May of the following year, the pastoral charge was introduced in language which must have touched all who heard it:—"It has pleased Almighty God in His wisdom and goodness to visit me in my seventy-ninth year with sickness, and to render me incapable for the last six months of taking an active part in my episcopal duties. After thirty-three years of labour, mental and bodily, as well as of anxiety lest by the adoption of false principles and faulty arrangements or by mistakes in personal conduct the great and responsible work of setting in order from its beginning a diocese of the Church of England might be marred, I may well be content to say, in the language of the prophet, 'It is enough.' For the difficulty of that work was enhanced in this colony by the fact that the majority of its inhabitants were either strangers to our ecclesiastical polity, or in principle opposed to it. I need not then repine if the Master should at length signify His pleasure that the labours of His servant should cease. A season of repose has thus been allowed me in which to gather up spiritual 'strength' before I go hence, to 'be no more seen.' I desire, therefore, to acknowledge His wisdom, goodness, and mercy is this dispensation." The bishop's strength

would not allow of his presiding at the synod, and so he closed his address with an affectionate adieu:—"With these brief remarks I now bid the synod 'Godspeed.' I am unable to take part in its deliberations, but I heartily pray that the Holy Spirit may be with and in you all, to the end that your counsels for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ and of God may be abundantly blessed and prospered. Finally, dear brethren, let me exhort you to be of one mind, to live in peace, and then the God of Love and Peace shall be with you. Amen. Farewell." In the November following a special meeting of the synod was summoned to hear from the bishop what steps he had taken in reference to communicating his retirement from the see to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to receive his formal deed of resignation. Speaking for the last time to that synodal body which he had always looked upon as the *chef d'œuvre* of his episcopate, the old bishop said: "To bid farewell to scenes where the most important duties of my life have been performed; to part with old familiar friends, who have been co-workers with me in the building up of this diocese and its institutions; to bid good-bye to those ecclesiastical affairs in which I have been privileged to take a leading part, would, except done in submission to the will of God, have excited the liveliest feelings of pain and regret. But a grateful acknowledgment of the very many years of health and strength accorded to me, during which I have seen these institutions grow and mature and bring forth fruit, temper, I am happy to say, the sorrow of parting. Nevertheless, memory will fondly travel back to the foundation of the collegiate school, with its chapel, laboratory, and gymnasium; to the building of bishop's court; the erection and consecration of the cathedral; to

the founding of the synod and the church office, with the diocesan library, and the various voluntary funds for the benefit of the diocese there administered, viz., the Leigh-street estate, the widow and orphan, clergy annuity, Allen pastoral aid, Melanesian mission, parochial churches endowment, the dean and chapter and see endowments, and last of all, to the hostel and theological college of St. Barnabas. And when it glances from these institutions to the many churches built, missions commenced, and agencies set on foot with the help of two hundred and twelve unpaid lay readers, under the superintendence of fifty clergy, supported wholly or in part by voluntary contributions, thankfulness predominates over temporary regret, and the hope prevails that through the grace of God there may be built up a 'spiritual temple' in this diocese, and 'lively stones' gathered in from the world to the glory of God and of the Lamb; more especially when we remember that on my arrival in 1847 the number of the clergy was only five." The diary of the day is: "At 2.45 p.m. to church office. A goodly number of clergy and laity. I read my address: twice a little overcome. The dean feelingly replied. I signed my resignation, and left the room, shaking hands with several as I passed through." It was indeed a scene not likely to be forgotten by any present—the whole synod standing in eloquent silence as the venerable figure so well-known to them passed, it seemed with lingering steps, down the hall, warmly pressing the many hands which in respectful affection hindered his exit. On many of the heads then reverently bowed in sad farewell those now withered hands of the departing chief pastor had been laid—some to send forth with the strengthening grace of Confirmation, while to others he had committed

the awful deposit of the Apostolic Ministry. Surely a great incense cloud of silent invocation for the benediction of the True Chief Bishop must have gone up as clergymen and laymen watched that retreating form. When next the synod met—and the empty episcopal throne in the cathedral bore its mute witness to the gap which all were feeling—Dean Russell (himself now passed into the waiting abode of the Church triumphant) well expressed what must have been the all-pervading sentiment: “There is,” he said, “pathos in the situation. We should be heartless indeed if we could view with passionless indifference the rupture of a relation which has subsisted so long, and to which there attaches so much that is humanly affecting. The world, in its selfishness, easily parts with old ties, hurries over its farewells, and then coolly goes on to the next thing. But it is from this selfishness, this heartlessness, this insensibility to the purer kind of emotion, that those whom Christ’s life is transforming into its own likeness, seek to escape. Not without tenderness of feeling, not without reverence in our retrospect of the past, would we turn to the special duty which awaits us to-day. That duty, as you have been reminded, is to fill up the vacancy in the see.”

But Bishop Short was not suffered to leave the land of his adoption with only the heart-felt adieus of his own people. On the day before he finally left the shores of South Australia, there assembled in the Town Hall at Adelaide, under the presidency of Governor Sir William Jervois, a representative gathering of colonists who proffered, amid much enthusiasm, a most generously-worded address, breathing a true catholicity of spirit, to the retiring prelate. In presenting the address the Governor said:—“It will be told by our children’s

children in ages yet to come how the bishop directed his great intellect and knowledge, and his untiring zeal and energy, in seasons of success and seasons of difficulty, through good report and evil report, to the initiation, to the furtherance, to the maintenance, and to the establishment of institutions for the benefit of the sick, for the raising of the fallen, and still more, for the social and intellectual advancement and culture of the people generally of South Australia." At the close of the meeting His Excellency heartily wrung the bishop's hand, saying as he did so: "I hope and trust you may live yet many years to enjoy the honour which you have so justly received from the people of South Australia. Now, on behalf of that people, I bid you a hearty good-bye—an affectionate farewell."

Then on the following morning—Epiphany Day 1882—there gathered a yet more affecting company in St. Peter's Cathedral to join once again with their old bishop in the celebration of the great Sacrament of Commemoration. Can it not be safely said that as he then knelt for the last time in the beautiful house of God which was so dear to him, the aged prelate must have derived his strongest consolation from the truth expressed in the legend inscribed on the altar books of the cathedral—*Divisi oceano Eucharistiâ conjungimur*. And would he not have felt, too, that the legend might rightly be applied to the more mystic separation by that ocean the wave-beats whereof fall upon the Eternal Shore?

In the afternoon the bishop and his party went on board the English mail steamer, and so in bodily presence he left for ever the arena of a long life's work.

CHAPTER XIV.

RETIREMENT TO ENGLAND.

THE story of the bishop's life (and its close) after he finally left his diocese has been written, with a kindly hand, by his former domestic chaplain—the Rev. C. C. Elcum, now vicar of St. Agnes, Toxeth Park, Liverpool—and it is here largely given as it was received from this source.

On the afternoon of a dull day—Ash Wednesday, February 22, 1882—the P. & O. steamer *Carthage* passed up the Thames, and off Beckton gasworks was boarded by two small boats which brought Mr. Conrad Engelhardt, Mr. Augustus Fane, and the Rev. C. C. Elcum, to offer their welcome to the bishop, Mrs. and Miss Short, on their return to the old country. It was dark before the steamer had been docked, the luggage cleared, and the party on their way to the Fenchurch-street station. The bishop seemed in capital health and spirits, and took a keen interest in the bustle and hurry-scurry, the counting of packages, the chalking of barrow loads of luggage, the mislayings, the misgivings, and the findings—again in odd corners of the Custom-house, with which any travellers who have landed at the docks are only too familiar. Later on, when all were comfortably assembled round a dinner-supper table at the Grosvenor Hotel, relatives and friends were delighted to see that, though tired, the bishop had lost none of his old playful humour, his wonderful power of quotation, or his keen insight into

men and things; that Mrs. Short was as quietly cheerful, and Miss Short as bright and energetic, as ever. Enquiries after mutual friends, the delivery of messages and good wishes, and the reminiscences thus pleasantly recalled, seemed to annihilate time and distance and to transport all present back once more to the hospitable board of Bishop's Court, North Adelaide. The only drawback to the pleasure with which the bishop found himself again in his native land was the news of the serious illness of one of his oldest friends; but with that exception everything seemed to promise that the labourer's well-earned rest would be brightened by affection and cheered by friendship—even if he sometimes looked back with loving half-regretful interest to the far-off vineyard wherein he had borne the burden and heat of the day.

A hunt for lodgings resulted in the party taking up their quarters in Ebury-street, and after a few days' rest—if the receiving of an army of callers could be termed rest—the bishop found himself pledged for—or rather he allowed himself to be drawn into—quite an Adelaide press of engagements on a small scale. The truth was, his keen and active mind entirely unfitted him for rest pure and simple. Rest in his idea meant rust, and that was to him an impossibility. He once said: "If I am laid on the shelf it will take a good deal to hold me there;" and certainly considering his age and 'often infirmity'—a favorite expression of his—what he got through on his return to England in the way of work, not of course by compulsion, was remarkable. Failing though he certainly was, his great physical strength and his indomitable spirit seemed to keep him up, and indeed compel him to be doing something. He never seemed idle. If at home, he was studying—not merely reading—the last new

book, the *Church Quarterly*, or a pamphlet or article on some religious, political, or social question, with pencil in hand to underline—an old habit—or put in a marginal remark when he detected a fallacy or in any way caught the author tripping. A few disjointed extracts from his diary will show what he found to do in the way of occupation of a more public nature: "March 13th.—Lambeth. Walked in the garden with the archbishop (Tait). Lunched afterwards. Walked to Westminster Bridge along the embankment. March 18th.—Baptised at St. Peter's, Eaton-square, assisted by the Rev. O. P. Yerbergh—curate—Evelyn Mayurra Engelhardt (the bishop's great-granddaughter). . . . April 28th.—Meeting at St. James' Hall of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." At this meeting Archbishop Tait being obliged to leave invited Bishop Short to take the chair, which he did and made a brief but telling speech on missionary work in general, but with characteristic modesty he said little about his own efforts and success in building up the Church in South Australia. "May 2nd.—At the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel offices in Delahay-street: meeting of the Association of St. George's Home, Capetown, the Hon. J. G. Hubbard, M.P., in the chair." At the request of his niece, Sister Caroline Mary, the bishop spoke on this occasion in support of the work of the All Saints' Sisterhood at the Cape.

Two or three times the bishop's diary speaks of Lambeth Palace and the pleasant religious and social gatherings he attended there. For the late archbishop he had a sincere regard, though by no means agreeing with him in what he could not help calling his 'Erastian tendencies.' His colonial experience had convinced Bishop Short that the

more the Church relied on her spiritual prerogatives, and the less on an arm of flesh, or its modern equivalent of State-made law and social prestige, the better. Against mere crown-and-cushion, lion-and-unicorn theology, the bishop had strong objections, and he always regarded Archbishop Tait as a little biassed in favour of what might be called a Tudor view of the relations of Church and State. The bishop's ideas, too, on the independence of the colonial episcopate were very strong, and he never altogether forgave the late primate of Australia, Bishop Barker of Sydney, and indeed the archbishop himself, for permitting the bishop of North Queensland to take the oath of obedience to the occupant of St. Thomas à Becket's chair instead of to the primate of Australia. For the archbishop personally, Bishop Short had a high admiration, and he evidently much enjoyed the conversations he had with him at Lambeth, at Society for the Propagation of the Gospel meetings, and elsewhere, always speaking of them with very great pleasure. "But," he would sometimes say, "the archbishop, though very long-headed, is a little wanting in heart." It should, however, be remembered that the bishop himself, even to the last, had all the warmth of manner, all the impetuosity of a boy, and that the transparency of character which was so conspicuous and so loveable a trait in him might be reasonably less marked in others without necessarily implying that they were really 'wanting in heart,' but only that it was not quite so near the surface as in himself. In the art gallery in Adelaide there is a touching statue by Marshall Wood, illustrating Hood's 'Song of the Shirt,' and of this figure the bishop, after his first study of it, wrote in his diary: "It is the most pathetic thing I ever saw—it moved me to tears." To so sympathetic a

nature as this the late archbishop's demeanour when in public might well have appeared a little cold, but none recognised more fully than Bishop Short the charm of manner and sweetness of disposition in the late primate, to which all brought into private and personal contact with him have given such warm testimony.

At one time or another the bishop met at Lambeth the bishops of Lincoln, Oxford, Durham, Truro, Dover, and indeed most of the home episcopate, together with any colonial prelates who happened to be in England; and the welcome which all seem to have given to their venerable brother was highly appreciated by him. In the diary the Lambeth gatherings are briefly but happily described as 'pleasant parties,' and it may with good reason be supposed that his own *bonhomie* and utter want of self-consciousness, his quick sense of humour, his playful but never bitter sarcasm, and his large fund of anecdote and quotation, contributed something to the pleasure of those enjoyable reunions.

Twice the bishop found himself in the society of the lady to whose liberality the original endowment of the see of Adelaide is due—the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. On one occasion he accepted her hospitality at luncheon, and on the other he met her at a garden party at Fulham Palace. The baroness must have felt a deep satisfaction in hearing his own graphic account of the prosperity which had attended the see of which, under God, she had been the foundress. She looked with great interest at the photos the bishop showed her of the various edifices reared by the Church in Adelaide, remarking, "I had no idea how forward everything is." On his side the bishop was delighted with the baroness' evident reality, her unaffected warmth and brightness of manner, and her courtesy

towards himself. When the tidings of his death reached her, Lady Burdett-Coutts wrote to Mrs. Short expressing her high regard for the bishop and appreciation of his worth and labours. One sentence is given here, not merely as a valued tribute to the memory of a good man, but also as showing the entire absence of all parade of good works in the writer of the letter: "Of all the bishoprics with which I have been permitted to be associated"—the 'association' in the case of Adelaide alone meaning a donation of seventeen thousand five hundred pounds—"his, whom we cannot but mourn, is the one which I feel is most securely moored, through his efforts, in a safe anchorage."

On June 10, 1882, by Canon Gregory's invitation, the bishop and Miss Short lunched at Amen Court, and afterwards, leaning on the canon's arm, the bishop thoroughly 'did' the crypt of St. Paul's, which he had never seen since it was put in order. At the evensong, which on Saturdays is always of unusual beauty, the bishop sat in a stall close to the canon, and deeply enjoyed the service, remarking of it in his diary 'beautiful!' This was on the eve of St. Barnabas, on which date he reached his eightieth birthday. He makes no comment on the fact in the diary; but notes having received the Holy Communion at the half-past eight a.m. Celebration at St. Peter's, Eaton-square—a church to which he became much attached—and hearing Canon Knox Little preach at the four p.m. service. Four days later he went to the annual meeting and conversazione of the Victoria Institute, at which Lord Shaftesbury presided. The room was full, and the bishop appeared much interested and pleased with the progress and prospects of the institute, which he always regarded as doing a most valuable work. Any

cause which helped to remove the doubts of honest enquirers into the foundations of the Faith ever had his warmest sympathy; but for missionary work, at home or abroad, he felt a still higher affection. Not many at the age of eighty could sit through a missionary meeting; but it is characteristic to find in the diary a record of a gathering in support of the Zanzibar mission, attended by the bishop and his former episcopal neighbour at Melbourne, Bishop Perry. The room was full, and the details of the slave market—given by Bishop Steere—‘interesting,’ says the journal. Soon after this came a garden party at Lambeth, preceded by afternoon service in the chapel, with sermon by the Rev. (now Canon) Scott Holland, a preacher of whom the bishop—no mean judge—thought very highly; indeed he considered that in philosophical depth, and beauty of imagery, this gifted clergyman had few rivals. During the afternoon, the diary notes, the bishop had long conversations with the bishops of Truro and Carlisle; and one very important talk with the archbishop—important at least for the Church in South Australia, for at its close the archbishop, referring to the vacant see of Adelaide, said: “Let me know by letter what sort of man he ought to be.” This suggestion must have been complied with to the satisfaction of him who made it, for the primate’s chaplain, the Rev. J. H. Ellison, a week later sent a note to the bishop to say: “The archbishop directs me to convey to you his warm thanks for your very interesting letter of July 7th in reference to the bishopric of Adelaide.”

The bishop could not, to his deep regret, often help in the services of the Church, but on July 19th he records: “Up at 7 to celebrate at 8.30 in St. Peter’s, Eaton-square.” This is one of the three only occasions after his return to

England on which he was able to commemorate as celebrant, in the Holy Communion, the great Sacrifice on Calvary. He said the central portion of the Divine Office—being unequal to the whole—and was assisted by Canon (now Bishop) Wilkinson, the vicar. For real honest religious work, especially among the outcast and poor, the bishop had a sincere admiration. He once went down, on a former visit to England, to St. Peter's, London Docks, where he was most deeply impressed by the self-denying devoted labours of the late Rev. Charles Lowder and his fellow-helpers.* It was, therefore, quite characteristic of him to start off with Miss Short one afternoon, late in July, to the House of Charity, Greek-street, Soho, where he was received by the chaplain, the Rev. J. Elkington, and conducted over the house, joining afterwards at evensong in the little oratory, and expressing himself extremely pleased with all he had seen, as indeed all do who visit this admirable institution. It is worth noting that Mrs. Short took out to Adelaide a young girl in 1847 from the House of Charity as a servant. She was a great success in every way, and on leaving the

* An incident of this visit the bishop told me on his return to Adelaide. Father Lowder showed the episcopal visitor through the church, and the strictly Anglican spirit of the latter being somewhat exercised by the presence of a large Crucifix, he felt moved to remonstrate with the devoted priest by saying—"You know that is not according to our Church of England practice." The vicar replied—"If I were to get up into that pulpit and preach about the death on the Cross to my costermonger congregation for an hour, I shouldn't make half the impression that I now can do by pointing to the Crucifix and saying—'There He is: that's what they did to the Saviour.'" It will be remembered that in the remarkable paper read at the Portsmouth Church Congress of 1885 by Mr. John Seddings on 'Religion and Art' he describes an occurrence which exactly confirms Father Lowder's statement. "It was only the other day," wrote Mr. Seddings, "that a friend saw two men in Oxford-street looking at an autotype of the Crucifixion by an old master, and one said to the other—'I s'pose that be the Saviour on the Cross: well, I never know'd it was like that.'"—F.T.W.

Bishop's Court service married very well. Colonel Short, the bishop's brother, was a warm personal supporter both of the House of Charity and the Newport Market Refuge. Leaving a donation as a practical token of appreciation, the bishop walked on to the Newport Market Refuge to see Sister Zillah, an old friend. After a talk with the bright and cheery sister—the kitchen, the old house, and the long dormitory were duly inspected, and the bishop remarked to Sister Cyrilla, who was acting as *cicerone*: “Why, those boys' beds are much more comfortable than mine was in my old Westminster school days, for they have bolsters and I had a log of wood.” This made the good sister laugh, but it is a fact that the boys of the Refuge sleep more comfortably in their scrupulously clean, if humble, beds than the small Westminster fags used to sixty or seventy years ago. These latter had every night to carry up a log to the dormitory to be used as firewood next morning for cooking the senior boys' breakfast, and round it trousers, jacket, and other clothing were rolled, and served both for stuffing and case, for other support for the head they had none! No wonder the bishop's thoughts turned back to Westminster when many years afterwards in Australia he had to endure the hardships of early colonial life. After giving the sisters his blessing, and expressing his great pleasure at what he had seen of their ways and work, the bishop promised to come and see them again when opportunity offered.

On August the 8th and 9th the Rev. G. W. Kennion called and saw the bishop in Ebury-street, having long private conversations with him on each occasion. Next day the bishop's party went on a visit to his brother-in-law, the Rev. W. Norris, of Warblington rectory, Havant, and on the following morning at breakfast the announce-

ment was read from the *Times* that "the vacant see of Adelaide has been offered to and accepted by the Rev. G. W. Kennion, vicar of All Saints', Bradford." The surprise of the party caused much amusement to the bishop and Mrs. Short, who had carefully kept the secret. At the public meeting in the Town Hall, Adelaide, on the evening of his enthronement, to welcome the second occupant of the see of Adelaide, Bishop Kennion referred to the interviews he had about the bishopric with his predecessor:—"I went, as you may suppose, to consult Dr. Short, your late bishop. I told him that I had come to ask him something about the diocese of Adelaide. I asked him a few questions, and then I produced the letter of the archbishop, and gave it to him to read. He read it, looked at me, and then said, 'But how old are you?' (Laughter.) And when I told him how old I was he reminded me that he had been bishop of Adelaide—well, I won't say how long—but soon after I was born." (Laughter.) After a move had been made from Warblington to St. Leonards, on September 7th the Rev. G. W. Kennion again called, on his acceptance of the see. The bishop and his future successor were delighted with each other, and none felt more confidence than the former that his 'empty chair' would be worthily filled and his many labours ably carried on towards completion. "My mantle, I am thankful to say, has fallen upon excellent shoulders," were the hearty words used by the bishop to his former chaplain, and to the end of his life he always seemed grateful that so good a choice had been made, and that every letter and every newspaper from Adelaide testified to Bishop Kennion's zeal, discretion, and appetite for work. Towards the close of October, Eastbourne became the residence of the little party, the bishop having taken Sultan House, Hyde

Gardens—a small but comfortable semi-detached villa, some way back from the esplanade, but near St. Saviour's and All-Souls' churches and in a cheerful part of the town. On November 16th he journeyed to London expressly to attend the Pusey Memorial gathering at Salisbury House, Arlington-street, and went in arm-in-arm with Archdeacon Denison, the veteran bishop and the veteran archdeacon sitting side-by-side throughout the meeting. Nothing struck Bishop Short so much as that power—so wonderfully brought out on the occasion—of calling forth warm personal affection which Dr. Pusey's life and teaching at Oxford had evidenced. Though by no means rich, the bishop gave twenty pounds to the memorial fund, saying "Dr. Pusey's library *must* be bought for Oxford."

Just before the end of November, Mrs. Short received a visit from the Rev. G. W. Kennion and Miss Fergusson—now Mrs. Kennion—and Mr. G. W. Hawkes, of Adelaide, happening to call at the same time, a very pleasant and representative little gathering met and chatted together in Mr. Charles Marryat's drawing-room, 75 Eccleston-square, which thus seemed to become a kind of connecting link between the Bishop's court, North Adelaide, of the past and the Bishop's court of the future.

On November 29 the topic of conversation with all was the event to take place next day—the consecration of the second bishop of Adelaide. Everyone wondered at, and some a little dreaded, the eagerness with which Bishop Short looked forward to the deeply-important event, that solemn occasion on which he himself was to take a very trying part.

St. Andrew's Day broke dull, dark, and foggy—a thorough London November morning. At eleven a.m. the consecration service began with a procession from

the Jerusalem Chamber into Westminster Abbey, in the choir of which a large congregation had assembled. The procession included the choir, three minor canons, the precentor, Canon (now Archdeacon) Farrar, the dean, Archdeacon Blunt, the Rev. Dr. (now Dean) Gott—the preacher—the bishop-elect, Bishop Ryan, Bishop Short, the bishops of Huron, Ballarat (Victoria), Nelson (N.Z.), Bedford, Rochester, Lichfield, Winchester, and London, the latter acting for the archbishop of Canterbury, then lying on his death-bed. The four prelates last named were attended by their chaplains, and the Rev. R. T. (now Dean) Davidson, chaplain to the archbishop, was present on his grace's behalf. The ritual of the abbey is not very correct, but the service was distinctly impressive, and the dimness of the light outside heightened the effect of the vast solemn building, the two great standard tapers on the steps of the sacristy shedding a faint light 'amid the encircling gloom' on the scene at the east end. The bishop of London was celebrant, and Bishop Short stood forward to read the epistle, holding in his hand his old Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge prayer-book—so familiar to all visitors to the library at Bishop's court, Adelaide. In vain he tried to read—the light was too bad, and a long pause ensued, which ended by Bishop Maclagan advancing to the epistoler and handing him his own large printed book, from which his venerable episcopal brother had no trouble in reading even in the twilight of that foggy morning. After the Creed had been beautifully sung, Dr. Gott, in the course of his sermon, spoke of Dr. Kennion's successful labours as a parish priest, and expressed the belief that he would administer his distant diocese with vigour but yet with charity; but the most striking part of the discourse was the preacher's address to the bishop-elect

in which he said : " Go where you will you will never leave the communion of saints. Adelaide is only another side-chapel in the one great cathedral of Christendom. As you turn each morning and evening to the east, we here, your flock in Bradford, and all saints everywhere shall turn with you, forming one long procession marching together along the same narrow path, with every face set towards Jerusalem—aye, one long procession following those blessed dead of a thousand years, whose dust lies around us here and calls us to follow them worthily. The Lord 'send thee help from the sanctuary and strengthen thee out of Zion; remember all thy offerings and accept thy burnt sacrifices; grant thee thy heart's desire and fulfil all thy mind.'" The service proceeded in the semi-darkness till, at the deeply solemn moment when the *Veni Creator* was being sung and all were on their knees joining, we may be sure, from their inmost soul in the grand time-honoured invocation of the Holy Spirit, a bright ray of sunshine streamed in through one of the southern windows, producing an effect which, taken in connection with the point which the service had reached, could only be called unearthly. All noticed it, and all must have felt that, to say the least, the omen was full of the happiest augury both for the future worker and his work. At the time of episcopal consecration, all the bishops present laid their hands upon the head of their kneeling brother, and many of those present in the congregation were strongly moved with gratitude at the thought that the venerable first bishop of Adelaide had been spared to lay his honoured hand upon his successor's head in the very spot, so rich in its associations, so bound up with the names of workers in the mission field old and new, where he himself had been set apart for the same high office thirty-five years before.

It seemed the very poetry of the grand dogma of the Apostolic Succession. Many must have felt deeply grieved to see the choir leave the stalls, and large numbers of worshippers go out, when the 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' was but half done, and this on such a special and solemn occasion, but the organ pealed forth in grand and joyful tones as, on the conclusion of the whole office, the bishops, clergy, and officials retired in procession to the Jerusalem Chamber. Thus, in the venerable Abbey of St. Peter, the fisher of men, on the feast day of the earliest Christian missionary, the past and the present history of the diocese of Adelaide was handed on in one unbroken line through the contact, sealed by the Holy Spirit, of its late and present chief pastor in the laying-on of hands and in 'the breaking of the bread.' A telling episode followed upon the consecration service. When all were assembled in the Jerusalem Chamber, Bishop Short stepped forward from amongst his fellow-prelates and spoke as follows: "My Lords—Suffer me to detain your lordships for a few moments, while I perform an act, which has the sanction of the bishop of London—namely, the presentation to my successor in the see of my pastoral staff, which on the twenty-fifth anniversary of my consecration was presented to me by my faithful clergy and laity of the diocese of Adelaide. It is the work, elegant in a high degree, of an artist in Adelaide and of workmen in the same city. I believe it to be an unprecedented circumstance, certainly in any colonial diocese, that the two first bishops should be consecrated in this same famous Abbey Church of Westminster, and by the hands or commission of the archbishop of Canterbury. This historic association of the daughter Church of South Australia with the mother Church of England through the Abbey

of Westminster and the act of the archbishop of Canterbury I wished to mark as strongly as I could; and to hand down the memory of it to future generations to be steadfastly preserved. We ourselves remember with what reverence we preserve the tradition of the connection of the ancient British Church through Bishop Irenæus and the Church of Lyons, and so through Polycarp with the Church of Ephesus and the beloved Apostle St. John. Again, we recognise, six centuries later, through Augustine of Canterbury, our connection in the Anglo-Saxon Church with the Latin Church and that of Rome; although we do not acknowledge her right to paramount authority over us. If then we may, in a certain sense, recognise the Greek Church as our mother Church, so do we regard Pope Gregory, the Sacramentary, as a foster father. In like manner, I earnestly wish that the Church of South Australia may ever remember and hold fast its connection with the Church of England—so blessed and great as it has been, and, I trust, will yet be—through the ceremony of this day in the famous Abbey of Westminster, and under commission from the most reverend the archbishop of Canterbury. I have therefore great pleasure in placing in the hands of my successor, Bishop Kennion, my pastoral staff, to be an heirloom in the Cathedral of St. Peter, Adelaide, for the use of the bishops of Adelaide, in succession; in remembrance of the consecration of the two first bishops of the see in the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster. And, in conclusion, I humbly pray that my successor may receive abundantly the grace of the Spirit of God to enable him duly to fulfil the duties of his holy office.” In handing the staff to his young brother in the episcopate, the aged prelate said, *sotto voce*—“Be thou a shepherd; not a wolf.” It was unfortunate that the Rev. C. C. Elcum’s

duties at King's College prevented him from fulfilling his former office of chaplain on the last occasion when Bishop Short used the staff; but his place was taken by the Rev. F. Hoctor, formerly of the Adelaide diocese. Bishop Kennion made a suitable reply, thankfully accepting the beautiful and appropriate symbol of a chief pastor's office, and he then left immediately for Addington to obtain the blessing of the dying archbishop of Canterbury, a touching incident which all well-wishers of the Church in South Australia will ever remember with affectionate interest and an earnest prayer that as the hand of the venerable archbishop rested in blessing on the head of the newly ordained shepherd, so the benediction of the great Head of the Church may ever dwell in and on the flock that shepherd tends in His name and by His delegated authority.

Bishop Short, after lunching at the deanery, returned to 75 Eccleston-square, very tired, but cheered by the event of the morning, and full of hope for the future of the South Australian Church. In the afternoon his old Westminster school and Christ Church college friend, the Rev. Canon Bull, of Lathbury, Bucks, having come to town for the express purpose, called to see how the bishop had got through the fatigues of the day. The visitor—whose own age then reached to fourscore and four years—was pleased to find the bishop quite capable of enjoying and contributing reminiscences of 'auld lang syne,' and the evening passed most happily—a fit conclusion to an auspicious day.

On Saturday, December 2nd, the bishop, after a day's rest, returned with Mrs. and Miss Short to Eastbourne. The fatigue of the journey down, added to what he had gone through on St. Andrew's Day, compelled him to

recruit his strength more thoroughly, and he spent the next day—Advent Sunday—in bed. With deep emotion he heard the news, announced in church that morning, that Archbishop Tait had been called to his rest. Though expected daily, the shock was none the less severe, and the bishop felt that another loved and honoured friend had preceded him into the Master's more immediate presence. On the following Sunday he was able to attend St. Saviour's Church and to keep with Mrs. Short the forty-seventh anniversary of their wedding-day by receiving the Holy Communion together. A violent snow-storm, which came on as they walked back from service, gave them a greeting more rough than pleasant. For December 23rd, the bishop's entry in his diary is—"Called on Mr. Martin Sharp, editor of the *Guardian*, who was present at my consecration in 1847." This gentleman had been a very great friend of the bishop's brother, the late Colonel Short, and recognised the bishop one day on the parade at Eastbourne from his great likeness to the colonel. He called, and the two became great friends; indeed it might be said that in Mr. Sharp the bishop found his greatest lay friend after his return to England. There was nothing he enjoyed more than a talk with this gentleman on current ecclesiastical topics, and he dearly liked "enlightening," as he playfully called it, "the *Guardian* on matters connected with the Colonial Church." In Mr. Sharp's splendid library, too, most kindly put at the bishop's service and into which he might go whenever he pleased, he found a never-failing resource. Christmas Day, though cheered by the beautiful services of St. Saviour's and by the feeling of society in the highest sense which participation in the Holy Communion ever

brings, was a dull day to the small party of three at Sultan House, Eastbourne. How different to the cordial greetings, to the bright gatherings, of the Australian Bishop's court. On St. John's Day, Canon Whelpton, of St. Saviour's, gave his usual afternoon Christmas party, and amongst those present were the bishop, Mrs. and Miss Short, the bishop being in particularly good spirits and enjoying the quiet festivity with all his old bright and happy cheerfulness. It was on this afternoon that Miss Short made the acquaintance of the Rev. J. B. Fletcher, of All Souls', Eastbourne, who enlisted her as a worker in his parish. Calling a few days afterwards at Sultan House, Mr. Fletcher was introduced to the bishop, who for his part was delighted with his visitor. An intimacy sprang up which mutual respect and deep religious sympathy rendered all the closer as time went on, and it may be said that up to the last the bishop found in All Souls' Church and its vicar a spiritual home and a loved and loving friend. But with all his affection for the 'old country' and those whose love and friendship cheered him on his return to it, the bishop was in his heart of hearts Australian in sympathy, and he kept December 28th, the anniversary of the founding of the colony of South Australia, at least in spirit, as heartily as any colonist at the antipodes. Again and again he referred to its being 'Anniversary Day' and also the anniversary of his own landing at Port Adelaide thirty-four years before in a scorching hot wind and with Mount Lofty in a blaze of bush fire along the whole range.

Early in the February of 1883 the Rev. C. C. Elcum spent the day at Eastbourne. He found the small party in good health and spirits, and the bishop walked three or four times up and down the esplanade with him

chatting with all his old accuracy and shrewdness. In the afternoon he proposed a visit to All Souls' Church, and after showing the building to his guest, remarked that though not pretty in the ordinary sense of the word—its architecture is basilican—yet he thought it a splendid model for an inexpensive large church, as you could see well, hear well, and worship well everywhere—the area being broad and unbroken by pillars, the chancel spacious and well raised, and the seats comfortable. “Yes,” added the bishop, “I like everything about it, but the choral part of its services are poor after St. Peter's Cathedral.” The truth was that he never went to service anywhere without comparing, mentally, everything—fabric, preaching, music—to the cathedral in Adelaide and its services, generally to the advantage of the latter; “but,” he would say half proudly, half apologetically, “it is my own child, how can I help it?” It was decided to hold a devotional meeting for the Eastbourne clergy sometime during Lent, and the bishop received an invitation to be present at the special service in All Souls' Church on March 2nd, when the addresses were given by Canon Jelf, of Rochester. At the luncheon afterwards in the St. Saviour's choir schoolroom, the canon suggested conversation on some topic of a serious nature, the discussion of which might prove valuable to all present. The subject of infidelity having been proposed, amongst others the bishop spoke, urging the clergy to have courage, ‘for,’ he said, ‘infidelity has no heart.’ So earnest were his words, and so vehement his manner, that Canon Whelpton was quite alarmed on the bishop's account for the possible consequences of so great an effort; but he afterwards remarked, that a deep impression was made upon the younger clergy present by a

veteran who had gone through it all thus speaking to them from his heart. It will be pleasing to all who respected and loved Bishop Short, to know that not only were all the Eastbourne clergy most kind and courteous to him, but that they all spoke of him as 'the dear old bishop.' On Good Friday, in addition to being present as an ordinary member of the congregation at other services, the bishop, at the request of the Rev. J. B. Fletcher, gave the last address at the Three Hours' Service at All Souls' on the words 'Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit.' What he said was simple, but, as the vicar and many of the poorer worshippers present remarked, it will never be forgotten. His own note in the diary for this day is the simple one—"I am, *Deo gratias*, much better in health." A few days afterwards Miss O'Brien, a great friend, called and brought with her Canon Carter, of Clewer, whom the bishop had last seen fifty years ago as a student at Christ Church, Oxford. After talking for a few minutes, Canon Carter was shown the collection of Adelaide photos, including of course those of the cathedral and the collegiate school. "Well," said the canon, "you have indeed been enabled to 'build up.' " "And so have you," the bishop replied in his bright way. After the visitors had left he said, "What a calm holy countenance Tom Carter has," and expressed himself as most grateful to Miss O'Brien for having brought and introduced him. The bishop had for five years used the well-known 'Treasury of Devotion,' and, while not even to the end agreeing with its doctrinal teaching, had derived great comfort from its prayers and meditations, which he had by constant use made his own. Indeed his old carefully-mended copy of the 'Treasury,' together with Bishop Andrewes' 'Manual for the Sick,' the gift of Dr. Dendy—

precentor at Adelaide Cathedral—must have been the last books he ever used.

On June the 8th the diary says: "Our trio went to London," the bishop being anxious to keep his birthday there in preference to Eastbourne, and that event on St. Barnabas' Day is thus recorded: "My eighty-first birthday. Well and cheerful. To St. Peter's, Eaton-square for Holy Communion, Mr. and Mrs. Boulton walking there and back with us, and Mrs. Kent Hughes coming back to Ebury-street. Twenty relatives and friends to see me. Presents of grapes and flowers sent for my birthday." In the afternoon he took what he called "his afternoon birthday treat," in the shape of tea with his contemporaries the Misses Lavie in Birdcage Walk, the brother of these ladies having been one of his most intimate college friends. The Rev. C. C. Elcum dined the next evening in Ebury-street and was pleased to find the bishop's mind and memory as clear and bright as ever, though his bodily strength was evidently lessened. All South Australians who happened to be residing or visiting in London took the opportunity of calling and making kind enquiries during the next few days, an act of courtesy by which the bishop was greatly cheered. Four days later a start was made for Great Canfield vicarage, Essex, to pay what the diary calls "a happy visit to my daughter Albinia and the Rev. G. Maryon Wilson." The visit, however, was not a long one, for on the 26th the bishop expressed his determination to return to London for St. Peter's Day, the thirty-sixth anniversary of his consecration by Archbishop Howley, as he records in his diary. After Matins and Holy Communion at Westminster Abbey, the bishop insisted on walking back all the way to Ebury-street, and was in consequence very

much knocked up. There was nothing of which he was fonder than the grand old Abbey. He would stroll about in the cloisters and in and out of the building itself until he was obliged to rest from sheer fatigue. The place had a peculiar charm for him, and no wonder. Under its wing he had been educated, within its walls he had received his commission to act in his Master's Name, and had assisted in imparting that commission to his successor, and in its honour he had named his own cathedral church and collegiate school in Adelaide with the same dedication. Towards the end of July the bishop, assisted by the rev. the provost of Tuam and the Rev. C. C. Elcum, married his great nephew, G. Parker, Esq., and Miss E. Tremanheere, at Holy Trinity, Brompton. The choral service, bright and reverent, was interesting from the great age of the bishop, and the still greater age of the provost. To some of those present, old times were recalled as they saw the Rev. C. C. Elcum associated officially—for the last time—with his venerable patron and bishop. The church looked handsome, and was more than half filled by quite a large congregation, most of them, of course, friends of the bride and bridegroom. At the conclusion of the prayers the bishop, turning to the newly-married pair, gave a vigorous address to them and the congregation on the high sanctity of marriage, alluding in strong denunciation to the agitation in favour of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. All were surprised at the power and clearness of his voice, and what he said—terse, pointed, and outspoken—was so highly approved of that he received a request, to which he acceded, to have it printed. At the gathering afterwards at the house of the bride's father, the bishop was full of fun and anecdote, though a little tired in the evening. This was the last occasion on which he per-

formed the ceremony of marriage or gave anything in the way of a sermon or address.

Though not a popular preacher himself in the ordinary sense of the word—his sermons being more well thought out, practical, and logical, than eloquent—the bishop loved to hear a good pulpit orator and a powerful discourse. On three successive Sunday afternoons he was amongst the thronging crowds which packed St. Paul's to hear Canon Liddon. Of the sermon on August 12th, from the text "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus" (Galatians vi. 17), the diary says it was "a masterpiece of noble convincing argument and chastened eloquence." On the afternoon of Sunday the 19th, as the bishop and Miss Short were leaving the cathedral by the west door, Sir T. Dyke Ackland overtook them and, standing on the steps, talked for a long time about the magnificent sermon they had just heard. Coming down to the pavement below, the bishop called for a hansom and while it was drawing up one of those London perennials, a vendor of matches, regardless of the place, the day, and the episcopal costume, repeatedly proffered his wares saying insinuatingly—"Lights, my lord? lights?" The bishop and Sir Thomas of course ignored him, but when he threw open the cab doors with promptness, he could be ignored no longer—"Have you a copper?" whispered the bishop from the hansom to his friend on the pavement, as he searched his own coat tail pockets. "I'm afraid I haven't," said Sir Thomas, as he hunted vainly. What a spectacle, bishop and baronet alike 'hard up' for a copper, and a match-boy standing craftily by. "Oh, I've found one," cried the bishop, handing the youthful 'lucifer' twopence, "good-bye—drive on." But Sir Thomas either did not notice, or was not to be outdone; he also had 'struck,' not 'ile,' but

copper, and handed the still-expectant one a second twopence, so everyone's credit was saved, and fourpence earned by impudence and opening a cab door for a bishop whether he would or not; truly a practical illustration of the superior wisdom of 'the children of this world' on which the eloquent canon had just been preaching.

The bishop of Ballarat and Mrs. Thornton called on August 18 at Ebury-street, and after a pleasant chat bade the bishop, Mrs., and Miss Short adieu before starting on their return journey to Australia. There was a touch of tenderness in that leave-taking, for the visitors knew that they would 'see his face no more.'

On August 27 the bishop and Mrs. Short were invited to call at Fulham Palace, and accordingly drove over. They found the bishop of London lying on a sloping couch in the drawing-room, a victim to a severe attack of rheumatism in the muscles of the neck. Miss Jackson wheeled up an arm-chair for Bishop Short, close to her father, and the two venerable prelates had a long and earnest conversation together, indeed it was the last time they met. At the end of August a move was made for Great Canfield vicarage, where, after rest and quiet for two or three days, the bishop quite revived. He enjoyed staying at the vicarage much, and his grandchildren were as devoted to him as he was to them. It was a beautiful and patriarchal trait in his character that he could thus draw the warm hearts of the young towards himself. Children are keen judges, quick to detect insincerity even in their relatives whether old or young, and advanced age by no means always gains the attachment of the younger members of the family—it not unfrequently meets with only an extorted and unwilling half-respect. But whether at Bickham Grange and

Mayurra in South Australia, or Great Canfield in Essex, it was the same—the children all loved ‘grandfather,’ and would do all they could to show their devotion to him.

Perhaps in this sympathy which Mr. Elcum chronicles between the good old bishop and the children there is an instance of that startling kinship of feeling which is sometimes found between youth and old age. The ‘Heaven’ which Wordsworth speaks of as lying ‘about us in our infancy’ seems also near at hand to those who in

. . . an old age serene and bright,
And lovely as a Lapland night,

can also ‘behold the Land which is very far off’ (Isaiah xxxiii. 17) from the bustling world.



CHAPTER XV.

NUNC DIMITTIS.

RARELY, if ever, did Bishop Short allow his emotions to get the better of him; indeed, it might be said that he never quite broke down. It was, therefore, an indication of the very deepest feeling that one day when driving out at Great Canfield with Mrs. Wilson and Miss Short his eyes filled with tears as he looked over the familiar fields. He was evidently conscious of a nearing change—was bidding those he loved there a silent farewell as he saw them for what he felt would be the last time in their home. He might see them again elsewhere, but not ‘at home,’ and the old man’s eyes grew dim, iron-nerved though he was, at the thought, and through his tears he *looked* a prayerful ‘adieu.’

On Sunday, September 2nd, a fearful gale swept over a large part of England. The bishop drove through wind and rain to church with Mrs. Wilson, and, assisted by the Rev. G. M. Wilson, was celebrant—for the last time—at the Holy Communion. His voice rang out clearly and firmly, and he kept up well to the end of the service; but he stayed quietly at home in the vicarage afterwards, not going again to church.

The next day he baptised, with her father’s assistance, his grandchild, Albinia Marguerite. Several of the village people were present, and the choir, as the bishop remarks in the diary, “sang the hymns very nicely.” The weather was bright and cheerful, and the bishop himself

full of spirits. The diary says: "Walked in the afternoon with my dear grandchildren." It must have been a pretty sight to see the venerable grandfather coming home through the park hand-in-hand with his little grandson John, aged three years. During the first week of September a move was again made to Warblington rectory, where there were many things which endeared the quiet, pretty spot to the bishop. His father, Charles Short, Esq., had owned Woodlands' as a country seat, and the whole place had about it the charm of family recollections, which doubtless centred in the old grey church and quaint churchyard in which the bishop's parents were buried. The church is one of great interest and beauty, very old, and well-restored. No house stands quite close to it, but the churchyard on one side touches an old-fashioned farmyard, while a beautiful and stately avenue of trees winds from the rectory towards the churchyard gate. Grass fields stretch from the church to the sea behind Hayling. A curious old wooden porch leads from the north side of the church into the churchyard, and between this porch and the end of the vestry is the Short family grave. As if foreseeing what a few weeks would bring, the bishop one day after service walked straight out of the north porch—a thing he did not generally do—turned to the right and seemed thoughtfully to inspect the ground close to his parents' resting place for a considerable time. But whatever were his thoughts he said nothing, and the party returned to Eastbourne in the middle of the month. The entry in the diary for September 13th is: "Returned to my own 'hired house;' I am so delighted to be here again." With health enfeebled, but with mind as unclouded as ever, the time-worn servant of God spent the next three weeks much as he had done before at

Eastbourne. He seemed preparing, but with no morbid sentimentalism, and still less of agitated unrest, for the great change. His private devotions seemed more quietly earnest, his watchfulness more intense, but that was all. His attendance at church was, to his deep regret, irregular; but his great friend, Mr. Fletcher, came often to see him, and he could read, write, drive, and even walk good distances occasionally. The society, too, of Mrs. Maryon Wilson and her children—who had come down to Eastbourne in order to be near him—gave the bishop much happiness. On Michaelmas Day, Mrs. and Miss Short having been to an early Celebration, the bishop, unable to leave his room until late, asked his daughter for his prayer-book, saying “I must make my spiritual communion, as I am too ill to go to church,” adding with tears in his eyes, “I *did* hope to go to the Holy Communion on my dear Minnie’s birthday.” He sat in his arm-chair by the fire reading the office quietly to himself, Miss Short meanwhile writing at the end of the room. So intense, however, was the fervour with which her father repeated the *Gloria in Excelsis* and the *Pax* that she was obliged to stop in her writing and listen—“it was,” to use her own words, “so beautiful to hear.” On Sunday, September 30th, the bishop came down about half-past nine o’clock a.m., ashy pale, but explaining that as he was his “own fag”—a little joke he often made—his new coat and apron had taken “a long time to put on.” During breakfast the Rev. J. B. Fletcher ran up the steps and, after asking after the bishop, left the Rev. A. Jukes’ ‘Restitution of All Things’ for his perusal and criticism. The bishop and Mrs. Short drove to All Souls’ for morning service, and were rewarded, in spite of the cold, by an unusually beautiful

sermon from Mr. Fletcher on the angelic ministration. Though wanting to walk, the bishop was unable to go to Church in the evening, so read evensong aloud in the drawing-room. The lessons he found a great trial to him from his increased shortness of breath. After a rest, however, he was able to join the small family circle at supper, and at ten o'clock p.m. he read the 'Treasury of Devotion' and the 'Manual for the Sick,' Miss Short placing—as she always did—a small table with lights on it close to his sofa. He went up to bed as usual that night, and so ended, quietly and peacefully, his last earthly Sunday. The following day a sore foot did not stop him from taking his usual afternoon stroll, as a slipper securely tied on served for an extemporized sandal. Full of fun to the end, he played for quite a long time that afternoon with his little grandson John, who kept running away with his grandfather's gold pencil till Miss Short was obliged to be summoned to its rescue. The shoemaker meanwhile happened to call to measure the bishop for a pair of velvet winter slippers. This process astonished the small boy, who greatly amused his grandfather by remarking: "We always go to the shop to buy *our* shoes"—a dignified proceeding which doubtless he thought should not be lightly laid aside.

The next day, Tuesday, was so fine and warm that the bishop, on the strength of his feeling very well, walked about the town and up and down the parade, sitting down every now and then to watch the people boating, and, amongst other objects of sea-shore interest, his grandchildren engaged in paddling. After spending half an hour in Leach's library, and taking tea at Mrs. Wilson's, the bishop went home—"walking," as Miss Short remarked, "more briskly than she had ever known him do." On

reaching Sultan House he said: "Well, my legs don't fail: I have walked entirely free from pain in the side, and not felt so well as to-day since my illness came on"—an extraordinary remark from one of his great age only two days before his death. He spent the evening in reading. During that night sickness came on, and—a most unusual thing for him to do—the old father asked his daughter next morning to sit and work by his bedside, as he felt unequal to leaving his room until late. The weather being unfavourable, the bishop did not go out that afternoon, and the little party spent the evening quietly reading, all retiring as usual about ten o'clock. Next day, Mr. Fletcher happening to call, the bishop brightened up, and sat by the drawing-room fire talking over Mr. Jukes' book. In the evening, tired though he was, he spoke some time to Mrs. Short in the drawing-room on his views as to the Holy Communion—a few more hours and he exchanged 'views' for certainty, 'faith' for 'sight.' It had been arranged that the Rev. George and Mrs. Wilson should dine at Sultan House, and accordingly a little party of six sat down to table. Somehow a consciousness of something solemn, if undefinable, weighed on all present. Miss Short noticed that more than once all became silent, and happening at one of these moments to glance at her father, he looked back at her 'with a wistful look' which she will ever remember 'on his white ash-like face.' At about 11 o'clock Miss Short, as usual, gave the bishop his prayer-book and 'Treasury of Devotion,' and left him for a quarter-of-an-hour alone. He was a little longer that night than usual, for when his daughter came to help him upstairs he said, "You must give me another five minutes, Isabella," and she accordingly went away again until, hearing her father coming up towards his

room, she met him as he very slowly went up the first few steps to the landing. There he stopped a minute, and she said "You are very tired after your party, father." "Yes, I am," he replied, "very tired," and then he went on to his bedroom, where she helped him to take off his coat, bands, and apron, and he then walked to the sofa and wished his daughter 'good night.' She said: "Can I get you anything?" "No thank you, dear," was the answer, "I have everything I want. Good night." On the following Friday morning, October 5th, at about seven o'clock, Mrs. Short was aroused by the bishop uttering quite loudly the sacred name of God, and she "knew," as she expressed it, "that he was engaged in prayer, as he always was on first awaking." She asked him soon afterwards how he had passed the night, and he replied: "I have had four or five hours of sound sleep." Soon afterwards he called out as if in pain, and the good wife turning quickly round went to him, when he said: "I have never felt like this before." Mrs. Short called her daughter. Twice the good old man said "I can't breathe," as he lay in what seemed a spasm of agony, half out of bed, supported by Mrs. Short. He knew his daughter, and cried out, as the poor ladies with difficulty lifted him into the bed, to be raised up. Fearful though the ordeal was, they would not call for help till the doctor came, and indeed the bishop now appeared more easy, as he sat up with one arm round each of those he loved so well. Gently, however, they laid down his hands, fearing the effect of the position of the uplifted arms. Then he prayed inaudibly, giving, as he did so, one look upwards—a look so bright, so peaceful, that it will ever remain, as they have said, indelibly impressed upon the hearts of those who knelt in anguish by his side. Finally, he:

bowed his head—as his daughter thought, at the Holy Name—and without a sigh, without a struggle, the brave, simple-minded, childlike bishop was gone to the rest he had so faithfully earned, to the home he had so earnestly been expecting, to the nearer presence of One Whose he was, and Whom he had so long and truly served. Dr. Heber Ellis, the bishop's regular medical attendant, stated the cause of death to be *angina pectoris*, and gave it as his opinion that from the calm expression of the face the bishop could have suffered but little pain in the final seizure a quarter-of-an-hour before he died.

No pagan hopelessness of sorrow was allowed to contradict—as it does too often—the Christian household's expression of faith in a future glorious reunion. By day the sun lit up the room in which the bishop slept—a tranquil smile, which seemed to deepen from hour to hour, lighting up his features. Numbers of wreaths and crosses of great beauty, and made from the choicest flowers—the last tributes of family love and sorrowing friendship—almost hid the bed of death; and at night four large wax candles in silver candlesticks removed all idea of gloom and darkness, and threw their light on objects of devotion and religious pictures. On the Saturday evening the body, vested in episcopal habit, was placed in a shell covered with purple cloth and lined with white satin, and on the breast a paten was laid, which the bishop had formerly always carried with him in a pocket Communion Service on his 'bush' journeys in Australia, and which he had given to the Rev. George Wilson shortly before his death. Mr. Wilson hurried up from Eastbourne to Great Canfield vicarage and back to fetch it for this purpose, bringing at the same time a number of beautiful roses from the vicarage garden the bishop had loved so well. Nothing could exceed

the thoughtful care and kindness shown by all to the sorrowing family, or the respect paid to the memory of the bishop. Letters and telegrams of condolence poured in—one, brief but deeply sympathetic, from the bishop of Adelaide in the name of sorrowing friends in South Australia. The Rev. C. C. Elcum hurried down from London on the Monday evening to look once more on the face of the honoured father in God under whom he had worked for nearly three years beneath the Southern Cross, and at Mrs. Short's request he agreed to take the service at the grave side. Meanwhile, loving hands found a fitting occupation, and sorrowing hearts some little relief, in making the beautiful crosses of flowers which were to symbolise the affection and the resignation of the bishop's family, many members of which being far away could only be present in spirit and affection as he was borne to his last resting-place near his early Hampshire home of Woodlands.

In South Australia the telegraph, in its necessarily abrupt formal language, had told its sudden mournful tale, causing deep sorrow to many and regret to all, by its brief announcement. The bell of the Town Hall tolled, by order of the mayor, directly the telegram had been made public. Bishop Kennion happened to be at Port Lincoln at the time, and on Sunday, October 14th, preaching in St. Thomas' Church, he alluded in feeling language to the sad news which had been received. "The great feature," he said, "in Bishop Short was a love of truth and righteousness. Was he not a fearless champion of what was true and right? Did he ever shrink from a conflict when he was persuaded that he was in the right?" The bishop felt that it was this trait in his predecessor's character which caused those who disagreed from him "to give him their universal respect and even love." Alluding

to his absence of discontent and cheerful humility in resigning, and giving place to a much younger man than himself, Bishop Kennion added: "Never can I forget his words as he handed me the pastoral staff and said privately, 'Be thou a shepherd and not a wolf.'" The preacher spoke also of the kindly effort Bishop Short had made to encourage his successor to enter hopefully on the work he had been called to undertake, and bore testimony to his strikingly simple faith, his wisdom, and administrative ability, concluding by urging his hearers to strive to follow the example of their late diocesan in the reality of their warfare with sin, "that they might, in the firmness of their faith, look forward, like him, to entering into the eternal presence of the Lord." At St. Peter's Cathedral the tone of the services expressed more of the 'sure and certain hope of the Resurrection' than of mournful sorrow at a hopeless loss. The altar was vested in white, and a profusion of the loveliest floral devices completely covered the sacrarium floor—the spontaneous offerings of all classes of the community. Wreaths of flowers were also placed upon the fald-stool and the empty chair, close to the prayer desk, which the bishop had been accustomed to use. The music partook of a festal character, the anthem at evensong being "Blest are the departed," from Spohr's 'Last Judgment.' Dr. Dendy preached a short, feeling sermon in the morning, and in the evening, in the bishop's absence, Dean Russell chose for his text the words of the Psalmist—"We took sweet counsel together, and walked in the House of God as friends." Omitting, as out of place, all discussion of the bishop's character, the dean, in language of great beauty and with much feeling, spoke of "the impression, yet vivid on every imagination, of the venerable figure so

long the central one in all our assemblies. Dignified by office, by character, by natural endowments, learning, and acquired gifts, he was yet further dignified by age." The preacher recalled the 'pathos' of the closing scenes of the bishop's colonial life, the resigned and patient sorrow with which he accepted the will of God concerning him. "He would," said the dean, "have died at his post had it pleased God to suffer him to do so. His true monument must be found in the institutions he created; in the provision made for the future for counsel between bishop, clergy, and laity; for education; for church endowment and extension; for widows and orphans; for the welfare of the Church in all its varied regions of work in those coming days when an enlarged population will tax to the utmost her resources." After alluding forcibly to our fellowship with the departed and to our thankful commemoration of them in the prayer for the Church Militant, the dean closed by urging all to make a strong and united effort to finish the cathedral—"a wish the bishop was known to have cherished, a work he was compelled to leave half done. There could be no better monument to his memory, no clearer evidence of the fact that though he has vanished from sight, his spirit is with us still, no better proof of the general wish that this work, undertaken to the glory of God, should still be associated with the memory of his name." A vast congregation was present—numbers indeed could not gain admission, and all seemed conscious of a personal loss. Nor could it well have been otherwise. As the *South Australian Register* pointed out in its leading article of October 9, 1883—the bishop had been "not only a good man, but a good colonist as well: one who, while a loyal son of the Church, never failed, so far as his conscience permitted him,

to render ungrudging praise to others who by methods different from those which he approved were striving to benefit their fellows. He was not merely an ecclesiastic, though the welfare of his Church was rightly the chief object of his concern; with him the obligations of his sacred office were paramount; but he was not only a bishop: he was a loyal South Australian and a Christian gentleman. He set a noble and praiseworthy example to his fellow-colonists in the discharge of his duties as a citizen. His labours in connection with the University and other unsectarian institutions are too well known to need more than the barest allusion to them. His gifts, both natural and acquired, his marvellous power of endurance, and his faculty for work were all ungrudgingly used, so far as other claims would permit, for the benefit of those among whom he lived for more than a generation." It is not often that qualities which command such public appreciation co-exist with those which call forth loving affection and regard in friends and acquaintances. Two or three sentences may here be given from the many letters received from Adelaide in reference to the bishop's decease: "The whole diocese is grieved at the suddenness of its loss," writes one. "All here speak with reverent and hushed voice: 'He was like a father to me,' said first one and then another clergyman." "The news of our dear bishop's death," says another, "fell upon us with startling suddenness. . . . The heart of this people was strangely moved. Even on Kangaroo Island* people came and asked in a sort of hushed voice: 'Have you heard of the bishop's death?' For myself, I felt in a sort of dazed state—his voice was ever in my ears, his form ever before my eyes. I dearly loved our bishop: I had a

* A sparsely settled islet at the entrance to St. Vincent's Gulf.—F.T.W.

greater affection and veneration for him than for my own father after the flesh. To us, who loved him so well, it is a great consolation to know that the end was peaceful and free from pain. . . . It is, under God, greatly due to his calm and equable judgment and justice that we owe the peace and harmony which are the great characteristics of this diocese." A third correspondent says: "I call to mind such numberless kindnesses received from him from the very first day of our knowing him. Do you remember when I was ill his making me lie on the bed in Mrs. Short's room for a change, and then helping me to cut out the blinds for our new house? That was twenty-two years ago, and yet in some ways it seems but the other day."

Of the bishop's individual kind-heartedness—as distinguished from his official conduct—in dealing with his clergy, his former chaplain, the Rev. C. C. Elcum, supplies a striking instance: "I had one day to copy a letter which the bishop had written to one of the clergy of the diocese to whom he had felt it his duty to administer a sharp rebuke for what he called his 'wrongheadedness.' Putting my head just inside the bishop's study door, I said: 'Is that letter ready for the copying press yet, my lord?' 'Not quite,' said the bishop; so I shut the door of my own little study and went on with what I was doing. Some minutes after I heard the bishop leave his study, so I came in again to see if the letter was finished. It lay on the table, signed 'A. Adelaide,' so concluding it was ready for me, I picked it up and glanced over it. I must own I felt very indignant at what I thought the harsh tone of the language used. When I had read it, my eye fell on another piece of paper lying on the table, and evidently belonging to the letter, for it began with '*P.S.*,' and had the name of the gentleman to

whom the sheet in my hand was addressed written in one corner. The *P.S.* ran as follows:—"The letter is from your *bishop*—the postscript is from your *friend*." I picked up the paper, and under it lay—a cheque for £20. It flashed across my mind that the bishop did not wish me to know anything of this postscript, so replacing both letter and *P.S.*, I retreated into my room. In a few minutes the bishop came back, and almost immediately called me. I went in, and he said—"Oh, I had to go out to speak to Mrs. Short just now, so I have been rather long about the letter. But it is ready at last: here it is: copy it." But he had put the *P.S.* out of sight. I copied the letter, gave it him back, and I saw it afterwards stamped and directed, and decidedly fat looking for only a sheet of writing paper in an envelope. I waited rather curiously to see if the bishop would show me the answer, which I noticed came two days after, as he very often used to ask me to read letters and tell him privately my opinion of the contents. But he kept that letter to himself, and no one, I am persuaded, ever knew what style of rebuke he had administered. I have reason to believe that the bishop did that sort of thing not once or twice."

And now to return to Eastbourne. At a quarter before ten o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, October 10, the body of the aged bishop was borne, amidst many tokens of respect and sympathy, from Sultan House to the railway station in a coffin of polished oak: on the lid, in brass, were a mitre, a pastoral staff, the bishop's name, age, title, arms, and a Latin cross. Over the coffin lay a handsome violet pall—since presented to the Adelaide cathedral—which was intersected by a broad white cross. Around and on the pall a profusion of exquisite crosses and wreaths of flowers had been arranged. Two carriages

followed the open hearse to the railway, where all had been reverently arranged by the authorities, and the mourners followed along the platform as the van, in which the coffin had been placed, was pushed some few yards and attached to the rear of the train by men with uncovered heads, who did their work quietly and quickly, and then the train started for Havant. By the kindness of the Rev. Canon Whelpton of St. Saviour's, Mrs. Short and some other relatives were much comforted during that sad and lonely day by the saying of the Burial Office at three o'clock p.m.—the exact time of the funeral—at St. Saviour's Church. Meanwhile other relatives and friends of the bishop had assembled, or were assembling, at Havant—some from long distances—and on the arrival of the train from Eastbourne a group of about thirty stood, the gentlemen bareheaded, as the coffin was lifted from the van and placed in a low bier-carriage waiting at the station. The pall and floral tributes were arranged as before—the number of the latter having been increased—and the whole party made its way, informally, to Warblington rectory, distant about a mile-and-a-half. The day was lovely, quite Australian in its warmth and brightness, the sun shone out, and a gentle breeze blew from the sea. At the rectory the relatives of the deceased prelate, joined by many whom affection or respect had brought to the spot, formed themselves into a procession which slowly followed the bier towards the churchyard along the stately avenue of old trees which faces the rectory house. The Revs. W. Norris, jun., rector of the parish, W. Scott, formerly of South Australia, and C. C. Elcum were the officiating clergy, the last-named wearing, suspended from a black ribbon, the badge of the cathedral guild of St. Peter, Adelaide. The organist of Adelaide cathedral,

Mr. A. Boulton, who, singularly enough, happened to be in England, had journeyed from Liverpool to be present, and sat at the harmonium, vested in cassock and surplice, to play a few bars as the body entered and left the church. He also accompanied the hymn 'Hark, my soul, it is the Lord'—the special hymn of the St. Peter's Cathedral guild—which was sung with surprising power and deep feeling by those present, when the rector had concluded the service in church. A processional cross was carried by a boy-chorister from an East-end London church in front of the bearers, as the procession now passed out of the north porch, and it was held at the head of the grave until the conclusion of the office. The bishop had once remarked to the Rev. C. C. Elcum that "if ever there is a time when the symbol of salvation should be raised aloft, it is when a true Christian is carried to his last home," and in special remembrance of these words the aged soldier of Christ was borne 'onward' to his grave,

With the Cross of Jesus going on before.

Mr. Elcum read the portion of the burial office to be said at the grave. Many felt a sharp pang as the coffin was lowered into the grave, close to the grey north wall of the old church, but no undue emotion contradicted the Christian hopefulness of the service or seemed to be out of harmony with the consoling thought of the Communion of Saints. None of the semi-pagan gloom; too often seen at funerals, was allowed to intrude itself on that bright and sunny autumn day. Christian sorrow for the departed is joy in a minor key. All present joined earnestly in the responses and in singing that hymn—a great favourite with the bishop—'Now the labourer's task is o'er.' The final grace was said, and a deep silence followed. More choice flowers were gently thrown into the grave: Mr. Elcum

handed to Miss Short a few dried yellow marigolds which he had brought with him as a memento of the garden at Bishop's court, North Adelaide, and these she scattered reverently on the coffin, and all was over. Those more immediately connected with the bishop by relationship or personal affection, knelt for a few moments in private prayer in the church, and then the company—after being received at the rectory by the Rev. W. Norris, sen., brother-in-law to the late bishop—returned to the railway, *en route* for their several destinations. The most sympathising telegram from the present bishop of Adelaide and the kind enquiries sent from Melbourne proved, if proof were needed, that many who were far away across the ocean had been present in spirit by the graveside. The immediate relatives of the deceased bishop returned to Eastbourne, accompanied by the Rev. C. C. Elcum, who closed that trying day by offering up in the drawing-room at Sultan House such prayers from the beautiful 'Treasury of Devotion' as seemed most appropriate to the occasion, as best expressing the comforting thought that he whose place was vacant in that small family circle was but gone before.

At the head of the turf-covered grave in Warblington churchyard there now stands a plain cross of red Devonshire marble, inscribed at its base :

IN
LOVING REMEMBRANCE OF
THE RIGHT REV.
AUGUSTUS SHORT, D.D.,
BORN F. OF ST. BARNABAS, 1802,
CONSECRATED IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY
F. OF ST. PETER, 1847,
THE FIRST BISHOP OF ADELAIDE, SOUTH AUSTRALIA,
OVER WHICH DIOCESE HE PRESIDED 34 YEARS.
DIED 5TH OCTOBER, 1883.

Along the simple stone coping, which alone incloses the bishop's resting place, there is engraven the answer of St. Peter to the question put by his Risen Saviour on the shore of Galilee—"Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee." The motto of the cathedral guild in Adelaide is the question itself—"Lovest thou Me?" Do not the inscription and the motto taken together suggest that the aged servant of God would expect that question as he reached the gate of Paradise: and around his grave is recorded the answer he might humbly have given.

It is not intended, in bringing this chapter of colonial Church history to a close, to attempt any analysis of the character of the first bishop of Adelaide. The main purpose throughout has been to gather together records which, if not now of much interest, yet in the future may serve some useful end, and in doing this the bishop has so often had to speak for himself that each reader of these pages will have before him the materials from which to form an independent judgment of the man. But whatever were Bishop Short's powers, few will question that in the labours of his life he found a worthy sphere for the exercise of the highest gifts. Speaking from the University pulpit to the undergraduates of Oxford, Canon Liddon once said: *

"It will not be hereafter a matter of regret if you should resolve to devote yourselves to apostolic work in the dependencies of this great empire; in those cities of America, and Australia, and India, which, before long, must powerfully affect, if they do not even govern, the course of the civilised world. We are not far from the time when Sydney and Melbourne, and Calcutta and Cape-town will rank with the old capitals of Europe. Already a new world is being created by the colonial enterprise of

* "The Courage of Faith."—University Sermons (Second Series) p. 563.

England. No light privilege is it to have a hand in building up the moral life of these new communities; no common honour surely to help to lay side by side with the foundations of their free political institutions the broad and deep foundations of the Church of God. Often enough it is little that can be done in an old country, where life is ruled by fixed and imperious traditions. Much may be done where all is yet fluid, and where, if religion is sometimes unprotected and unrecognised, she is not embarrassed by influences which deaden or cramp her best energies at home."

Only one or two words more need be added — first, may it not fairly be said that such a life as that of the first bishop of Adelaide goes far to prove that the traditional form of episcopal government besides being binding upon the Church *de fide* also commends itself in practice by its substantial results; and second, remembering the frequent honours which were done to Bishop Short by the whole community amongst whom he fulfilled his office, let it once again be thankfully recorded that the world, despite all the hard things said about it, is always ready to recognise earnest work for the benefit of mankind.

* * * * *

*Insignis inter socios, in fidelibus
Fidelis, tandem patriæ redditus suæ
Placidâ labores morte finivit graves.†*

† Reference to Bishop Short—as an old scholar—in the prologue to the Westminster School play on December 21st, 1833.

disproportionate

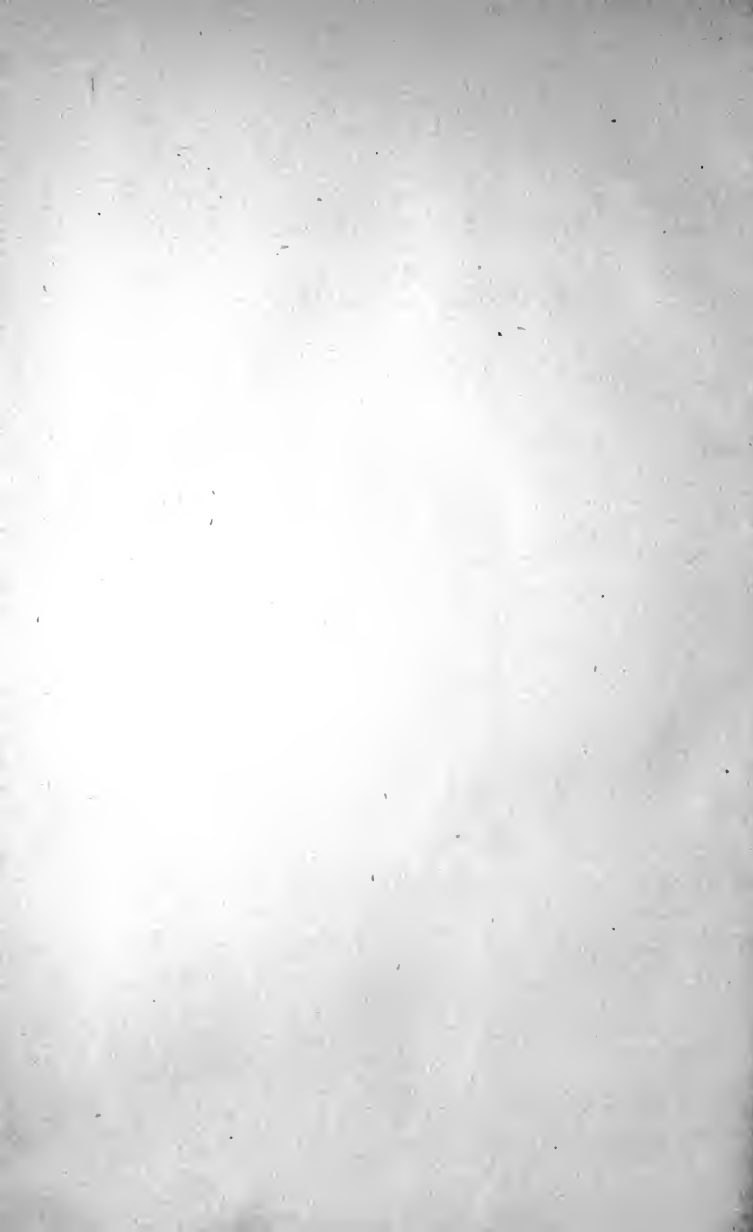


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